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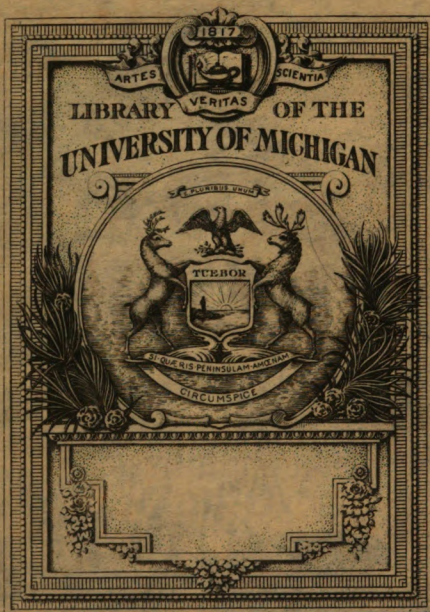
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REPORTS  
OF THE  
UNITED GERMAN EVANGELICAL  
LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS  
IN  
NORTH AMERICA,  
ESPECIALLY IN PENNSYLVANIA,

WITH A PREFACE BY

D. JOHN LUDWIG SCHULZE,

ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE ROYAL  
PRUSSIAN FREDERICK'S UNIVERSITY, AS ALSO DIRECTOR OF THE  
ORPHAN HOUSE AND ROYAL PÆDAGOGIUM.

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PUBLISHED IN THE ORPHAN HOUSE, HALLE, A. D. 1750.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY  
REV. JONATHAN OSWALD, D. D.

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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To the English-speaking Lutherans in the United States, I offer this translation of the Reports of the first Evangelical Lutheran Missionaries to America, and especially to Pennsylvania, in the hope that God may thereby be glorified.

We cannot read these Reports without (by the blessing of God) becoming wiser and better Christians. For the soul to be without knowledge is not good, and it cannot be good for Lutherans in America to be any longer ignorant of the *early history* of their Church in this country.

J. OSWALD.

York, Pa., Oct., 1879.



## PREFACE.

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KIND READER:—As is known, the Evangelical Lutheran German congregations in America have been strong and numerous there, since the beginning of the present century. They, indeed, found their bodily sustenance; but those who did not also at the same time forget their religion with their Fatherland, found it very disadvantageous for themselves, and their growing children, that in most places they were either wholly wanting in pastors, or they had to entrust themselves and theirs to such persons who, without a regular call and ordination, had arbitrarily set themselves up as teachers, and in part only sought to obtain their livelihood thereby. This occasioned, that several of those Germans who had emigrated, earnestly entreated that we should send them teachers from Europe, who were in earnest to save souls, and to lead them on the way of salvation. As this request was already brought in here, and in other places, in the year 1733, so the history of the preachers sent from Germany to America actually already extends back more than half a century. But it is not my object now to continue this history from its first beginning until the present time. It is fully carried out in this first volume, which is now closed with the six-

teenth continuation, and which properly begins with the year 1742, in which the as yet surviving D. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the present truly meritorious senior of the German Evangelical Ministerium in North America, safely arrived in Philadelphia, and was received with much joy, as the first regularly called and ordained preacher sent out from here.

To this from the beginning extraordinarily active first teacher, until to his present age, adorned with glory and merit, there were afterwards some assistants sent from here, as the further extension and wants of the congregations there required ; to mention all of whom in this place would be too prolix, and indeed, unnecessary also, for this reason, that the principal matters concerning their mission, arrival and official transactions, were sufficiently noticed according to the succession of time, in the several articles of this volume. Some of them have long since entered into their rest, as Messrs. Brunnholz, Handschuch, Schaum, and Heinzelmann, but whose memories are still blessed. The other older fellow-laborers, whose life, as far as we know, God has prolonged until now, and who have for the most part been in office for more than twenty years, as the preachers, Voigt, Krug, Schulze (Christ. Immanuel), Helmuth and Schmidt, to whom as yet came Mr. Kunze, since 1770, are often mentioned with merited renown in the several continuations. Their names must also be written down as a blessing, as they gloriously emulated the example of their worthy senior, and administered their office with all faithful-

ness, which can even be testified of them, as men of known learning, who were drawn as yet to other offices, of which there is something to be cited hereafter.

The number of the before-mentioned preachers, who all received their call here from abroad, seems indeed to be somewhat large ; but for the wants of the congregations there, living scattered here and there, who cannot all support their own teacher, it had still been insufficient. Repeatedly, and sometimes under circumstances when we could not immediately give the aid, several honest teachers were desired, after they in America saw the great difference, which put itself forth between these, and those who went there of their own accord, without being called and approved. From the beginning of the present century and until now, good Pennsylvania has had the lot, that many who had either not studied at all, or yet in Christianity and knowledge had radically accomplished nothing, or indeed, even if they already had a spiritual office in Germany, they had forfeited it by bad conduct—went there, and ingratiated themselves with individuals or congregations, and thus crept into the teachers' office. It is readily imagined, how bad it proved for souls by means of such, who only seek for their own, and when they believe to find it better elsewhere, immediately leave their congregations again. But great disorders were also occasioned by such hirelings in several congregations, and at length the desire was excited in them, that they might also be provided with approved and trustworthy pastors. But when capable men could not always be found

immediately, it was a great relief that the preachers there took young men, who were present with them, and who gave rise to good hope under their instruction, directed them for several years, and then, after a previous examination in common in a synodical conference, appointed them on trial for a fixed time in such congregations that needed their services, and afterwards also, if found capable and faithful in the exercise of their office, appointed them over the congregations which desired them for their regular teachers. In this manner the number of the lawfully ordained Evangelical Lutheran preachers in America gradually increased considerably. As I just now find in the Liturgy published last year in Philadelphia, the names of all the then members of the Evangelical Lutheran United Ministerium together, I deem it useful to cite them here. There are altogether 24, viz.: Mr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, Doctor of Theology, and senior of the Ministerium, Mr. Nicholas Kurtz (the older), Mr. William Kurtz (the younger), Mr. Ludwig Voigt, Mr. Jno. Andrew Krug, Mr. Christian Immanuel Schulze, Mr. George Bager, Mr. Justus Christian Henry Helmuth, Doctor of Theology, Mr. Jno. Fredr. Schmidt, Mr. Jno. Christopher Kunze, Doctor of Theology, Mr. M. Henry Mühlenberg (the younger), Mr. Conrad Fredr. Wildbain, Mr. Jacob V. Busskirk, Mr. Jno. Friderici, Mr. Christian Streit, Mr. Jno. George Jung, Mr. Conrad Röller, Mr. Jac. Göring, Mr. Daniel Schröter, Mr. Daniel Lehmann, Mr. Henry Möller, Mr. Frederick Ernst, Mr. Frederick Valentine Melssheimer, and Mr. Daniel Kurtz.

Last year there was as yet added to these, Mr. John Frederick Weinland, of whose mission, arrival and present advancement, I have here to report. He was born in Römheld, and studied theology from 1769 to 1772, in the Royal Prussian Frederick's University of this place, during which time he commended himself by his diligence and quiet Christian conduct, and also labored in the schools in the orphan-house here, not without profit to the youth. Then already my predecessor, now resting in the Lord, D. Freylinghausen, had selected him, to offer to him the call to America. Bodily weakness, however, which remained from a fever which he had shortly before passed through, did not at that time permit him to undertake a journey so distant. After the close, therefore, of his academical studies, Mr. Weinland returned to his native country, to wait for the ways which the Lord would show unto him, whilst he meanwhile endeavored to make himself useful as a family tutor, and also diligently exercised himself in preaching. Now, when the Reverend Ministerium, and the members of the united German Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, in the year 1784, had made application to send them two new preachers from here if possible, and this desire was also again made known in 1785, I resolved in the name of the Lord, to offer the call to this candidate, whom we as yet had in good remembrance, and of whose continued purity I was sufficiently assured by a worthy friend, who had observed him well, and had sometimes, also, let him preach for him. Now, although I had to leave

it to the nearer divine direction, and could not precisely specify beforehand, to which place he, according to the circumstances of the American congregations, would be appointed, he let himself be found willing to go there, wherever the Lord would make use of him. After his examination and ordination by the high county Stollberg Consistory in Wernigerode, his departure over Holland followed in April of last year. At the close of May he embarked at Amsterdam, and under Divine guidance arrived safely in Philadelphia, on the 18th of August. The congregation at Germantown chose him for their preacher, which offer he also willingly accepted. May the Lord by his Spirit ever fit him more for his important office, and set him for a blessing for his Zion there!

It was mentioned above, that some of the older preachers have gotten into various learned connections. I therefore deem it useful, for its elucidation, as yet to add something, especially as perhaps but few among us may have a sufficient knowledge of the more recent arrangements which have been made in Philadelphia and in New York, for the advancement of science. Many a misunderstanding may also be obviated thereby, which might result therefrom, that in the more recent continuations several of the older preachers, who were always only met with under this name, are cited as doctors and professors. The matter stands thus: Until the year 1779, there had been only one academical gymnasium in Philadelphia, but which in said year was raised into a university, and



twenty-four wardens (trustees) were appointed, among whom also the first preachers of all religions have a place. The gymnasium was retained under the name academy, but is distinct from the recently established university, and is properly only an institute for the Germans, who therein lay the first foundation, and must daily bestow two hours upon learning the English language, so that they may benefit by the English lectures when they get into the university. In the university even a German Professor of Philology has been appointed, who propounds rudimental science and the learned languages in German, with whom those who, after a previous examination, are discharged from the academy (gymnasium), continue the study of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages (which last, however, as the German also, has not, as yet, found many lovers among the young Englishmen), but visit the philosophical and other lectures, with the English professors. The German professorship of Philology was transferred to the preacher Kunze, who now from that time appears under the name of Professor in the sixteenth continuation, first of Latin and Greek, but afterwards of the Oriental languages. This new arrangement may be very useful for the culture of science generally, and especially also for the Germans in America. It has also made rapid progress, as already in the year 1784 a public examination was appointed in the university, and the young physicians were examined in *Materia Medica*, Chemistry, and Anatomy. They also then began to confer academical honors. Several of the young students

who distinguished themselves by their ability in the public and private examinations, the latter of which are somewhat more rigid, have already been made bachelors. They have also undertaken promotions in the higher faculties. The honor of a Doctor of Theology was imparted to the Professors Kunze and Helmuth, as well as to the deserving senior, Mr. Mühlenberg, as a mark of just esteem for his many years' service. Dr. Kunze had indeed accepted of a call to New York, where a university was likewise established, in which he is professor of the Oriental languages. The vacated place of Professor of Philology in Philadelphia, was again occupied by Dr. Helmuth. Now as much as the labors of said preachers were increased by their learned occupations, into which they were drawn on account of their zeal for the promotion of good objects, and their recognized ability, yet they did not, on that account, neglect their chief destination, but administered their office as preachers with all faithfulness.

In proof of how much they now in Pennsylvania, and especially in Philadelphia, take to heart the welfare of the Germans, who often arrive in America in the most deplorable condition, and endeavor to mitigate their misery, I will, in conclusion, only briefly mention several laudable arrangements. The one is known by the name of the German Society. It has no learned occupation for its object, as might be inferred from the name, but its object is to aid the newly arrived Germans, and to guard them from being overreached by merchants and ship-captains.

It is known that the Germans who are unable to pay for their passage, must obligate themselves to servitude for certain years; which hard destiny was formerly so much the harder, as the magistrate to whom they had to apply did not understand German. But now about one hundred noble-minded citizens, of various religious denominations, have formed themselves into a society, who care for the welfare of the arriving Germans; and one of their number, a born German, each time, himself, prepares the letters of service. Similar societies have also been established in New York and Baltimore. Another laudable arrangement has been effected by the so-called overseers of the poor, who are distributed throughout Pennsylvania, who care for this, that the shame-faced poor are provided for according to necessity, and when they die, that they are decently buried. These arrangements honor the promoters as well as the partakers, and are a proof that the spirit of the Gospel has penetrated their hearts, and made them willing for active love towards their needy neighbor.

The Lord grant grace, that his word may also be further proclaimed with a blessing in the regions there, and bring forth much good fruit. To his faithfulness and paternal kindness we commend all the laborers there, and those also who wait upon their office. His grace be and remain with them all. Written in the Royal Frederick's University, at Halle, on the 27th of April, 1787.

D. JNO. LUDWIG SCHULZE.





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A SHORT REPORT  
OF SEVERAL  
EVANGELICAL  
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IN AMERICA.

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CHAPTER I.

§ 1. The precious kindness of God, which he shows to so many places, especially also at this time, by the abundant publication of his word, is, alas, properly recognized by the smaller number of those who superfluously enjoy it. Nor is it used for their soul's salvation according to the loving purpose of God, that they might permit themselves to be led to Christ through the instruction out of such word of God. On the contrary, we notice that those from whom this privilege has been taken away for a season, and to whom *God has sent a hunger, not after bread but for his word*

(Amos viii. 11), then first learn how highly this should be esteemed. Therefore, also, if God again grants them his word anew, and permits the same to be published to them in spirit and in power, they receive it with much more desire. If this does not happen with all to whom the Lord grants the privilege of hearing his word again, yet there are many who, like starving sheep, use this word of God as the food for their souls, with longing desire for their salvation, and heartily thank God for it. An example hereof may be furnished by those German Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, of which this short report treats.

§ 2. It is known that towards the close of the preceding century many immunities and privileges were promised to the new settlers in the English colonies in North America, from which time many hundreds of families from Germany went thither, and in great numbers settled in other provinces and lands, as well as in Pennsylvania specially. Pennsylvania is that territory on the coast of Canada, in North America, belonging to the English, which lies between Maryland, New Jersey, New York,



and the country of the wild Iroquois, and was granted by Charles II. in 1681 to the rich Quaker, William Penn, whose name it bears, that he might cultivate and settle it.

§ 3. With the external condition and the present form of government of this country we do not now concern ourselves. Whatever relates to church affairs in the same, we have the regulations of other church parties and sects, the names of many of which will hereafter be mentioned. But we shall investigate their worship just as little, as specially to notice the Swedish Lutheran congregations which are here and there well supplied with preachers. The discourse is here only of those Evangelical Lutheran congregations consisting of born Germans.

§ 4. These, at least the greater part of these, were wanting in a sufficient provision in churches and schools, so that they had as yet no regularly called preachers, by whom they could be instructed out of the word of God, and enjoy the regular use of the holy sacraments. Therefore their children, for the most part, grew up in their ignorance without instruction, wherever the parents themselves

were incapable of leading them to some knowledge of God and divine things. Such persons, indeed, were not wanting, who from selfish motives offered themselves as teachers. But experience taught that such not only cared little for the souls of the hearers, but that they also, by their bad life and example, only did the more harm—the disorder of the congregations thereby ever becoming greater and more sad.

§ 5. In such mournful circumstances these forsaken congregations found themselves, that at length, several of these, about the year 1733, were constrained by this necessity to look to Europe for help—to make known through several delegates their souls' peril, both in England and Germany, and to ask earnestly for help, as well for the building of the necessary churches and schools, as especially also for the appointment of competent teachers. They were properly the congregations of Philadelphia, the chief city of this land, and of the places lying perhaps nine or ten German miles in the interior, New Hanover and Providence, which had recourse in their solicitations especially to the worthy royal British court preacher, in the German

Lutheran Castle Chapel, in London, Mr. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, who not only himself took a heartfelt interest in their need, but also was of advantage to them by his commendatory letters to worthy theologians and preachers.

§ 6. Among others, the court preacher Ziegenhagen gave to one of these delegates, viz., Daniel Weissiger, an impressive letter of recommendation to a certain now deceased preacher in Hanover, dated January 28th, 1734, in which he especially wrote the following, "That it is, alas! too true, that the Evangelical congregations scattered here and there throughout America, especially in Virginia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, etc., are in a very bad condition, especially in reference to the word of God and the holy sacraments, and such necessary institutions as are required for the instruction and understanding of the word of God, and the right use of the holy sacraments. I have many letters of complaint from various congregations, in which they urgently request Bibles, books of prayer, catechisms, preachers and other helps, and even acknowledge that, on account of the great destitutions

of these means of grace and salvation, they and their children must needs again become heathen. It grieves me not a little that I know not how to relieve this misery. The congregation of Philadelphia especially, of which Daniel Weissiger is a member, sent me a long letter of complaint in October of the previous year, in which, among others, is found the following: *We live in a land full of heresy and sects. We are in the utmost want and poverty of soul, and are unable to rescue ourselves by our own means, if God does not show us help and means from another place. The great number of young people growing up are miserably to be wept for, who know not which is left or right, and on account of the want of churches and schools, it is to be feared, if help does not soon come, the most of them might be led into grievous ways of error.* The blessed God who tries the heart and reins knows how necessary to us is the help of other fellow Christians. In gathering the collection requested, we certainly sought for nothing else than the glory of God and the salvation and welfare of so many poor human souls scattered abroad in this land. We care nothing about rearing stately buildings; *if we only had so*

*much that we could put up houses in some places in this land, in which we could regularly meet to praise and magnify our God, and instruct the youth. But we still hope that the merciful God will not forsake us, but awaken benevolent hearts, that will run to us in our need, so that we fail not utterly. We cannot therefore cease, reverend sir, once more most humbly to entreat and implore you, so far as possible, to care for us, etc.* It is indisputable that this and other evangelical congregations in America are in great distress, and besides, their necessity in other places is not sufficiently known, and where it is known, it is not properly considered or taken to heart. In the meanwhile, with such poor people, the misery ever increases in things spiritual. Reverend sir, if you can assist Daniel Weissiger in his purpose, I shall have requested it most respectfully. Have compassion on the perishing lambs and sheep of Christ in America, and help, that they may speedily be revived. Though I have not as yet the means in hand, I will also venture in the name of the Lord, to send to different congregations in America a number of Bibles, New Testaments, prayer and hymn books,

catechisms, and A B C books." No notice will be taken at present of other letters whereby the court preacher Ziegenhagen sought to present the need of these congregations to Christian theologians and patrons in Germany, especially to Dr. and Prof. Franke, in Halle, and to encourage them to consider their case.

§ 7. But to make the sad condition of such forsaken congregations better known in Germany, the said Daniel Weissiger printed over his own signature a short report from America, at Hildesheim, dated May 3, 1734. He also published the letter cited of the court preacher Ziegenhagen, and likewise a report drawn up concerning the oft-mentioned Lutheran congregations, attested by the royal English governor, nothing of which needs repetition in this place, inasmuch as this short report, according to its full import, was inserted in the 24th article, page 973, etc., in the *collections of choice materials for the building up of the Kingdom of God*, which was published in Leipsic, in which also there is nothing more concerning the condition of these congregations than has already been noticed and becomes evident by that which follows.

§ 8. Now when so many Christian hearts were moved to pity by the destitution of these congregations, as well by this printed report as also through other written and oral publications, and were led by the heart-guiding power of God to consecrate some of their means to bear the expenses required to commence churches and schools, and the employment of able teachers, and according to direction sent many loving favors to the now deceased Dr. Pfeiffer, of Leipsic, to Dr. and Prof. Franke. in Halle, to the senior Urlsperger in Augsburg, and to pastor Maier in Halle; we feel it a duty not only hereby once more publicly to bear witness to the sincere gratitude with which those kind benefactions were received, but also to give notice to the most worthy benefactors, how their temporal gifts were employed for the honor of God and the welfare of these oft-mentioned congregations.

§ 9. The before-named Daniel Weissiger, prior to his departure for Pennsylvania, not only again very urgently made request both in Germany and England, before all things else, to send to the congregations a worthy teacher, who could serve them by instruction out of the

word of God and the holy sacraments, and under whose supervision all things might again be brought into good Christian order; especially since John Christian Schulze, who was accepted by them as preacher, and was delegate with Daniel Weissiger, could not return again: but the congregations also, themselves afterwards, frequently in many letters, impressively repeated this request. Therefore, from this time they endeavored to find a suitable man hereunto.

§ 10. However, a considerable time elapsed herewith, because, besides the scarcity of honest and suitable laborers in such a work, other important hindrances were also in the way: still at last the merciful God removed these for the most part, and gave his blessing to the efforts made, so that a man was found who was already in the ministry for some time, and had given proof therein of his self-denial and faithfulness, and also had much experience; the hope could, therefore, be entertained with reference to him, that by God's blessing and help he would not labor among these forsaken congregations without usefulness. Such was Henry Melchior Mühlberg, born in Eimbeck in



Hanover, who had been deacon hitherto at Grosshennersdorf in Lusatia, also inspector of an orphan-house of that place, and who already before this manifested an inclination to serve God according to his will in strange lands.

§ 11. Now after the call was actually given him in September, 1741, by Doctor and Prof. Franke in Halle, in the name of the frequently mentioned German Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, and Providence, to become their preacher, God also convinced his heart in many ways concerning his will, and made him willing to accept the call, so that after he had obtained his dismissal from his office as preacher in Grosshennersdorf, he set out for Pennsylvania, by way of England, where he arrived on the 17th of April, 1742, and remained there until June of the same year.

§ 12. Inasmuch as it was thought proper, for good reasons, that he should first visit Ebenezer, in Georgia, for the purpose of making the acquaintance of the experienced preacher of the Saltzburg congregation, Pastor Boltzius, to consult with him about his future employment, and to inquire concerning the state of

the country, and whereby it was hoped, at the same time, that he might possibly be induced to accompany him to Pennsylvania, and assist his entrance into his future congregations, pastor Mühlenberg, after he had specially strengthened himself by a blessed intercourse with the court preacher, Ziegenhagen, went on board of a vessel, which sailed for Charleston, in Carolina, on which there was also a new Saltzburg family going to Ebenezer, and commenced his voyage on the 23d of June, 1742. On this voyage, not only was this Saltzburg family served by him with the word of God and the Sacrament of the Holy Supper; but although his knowledge of the English language, chiefly attained in London, was as yet very defective, yet on several occasions he could not refuse the earnest desire of the rest of the ship's company to edify them with an English service, and sought to be a pattern to them, and also to awaken them with Christian consolation. God also wrought many a conviction and good resolution in them by his intercourse with them.

§ 13. In externals, he had to pass through many trials on this voyage. Because of calms,

the ship was detained an unusually long time on the ocean, viz.: for the space of fourteen weeks and three days. For this reason, the stock of water was already so diminished on the 27th of August, that the allowance had to be limited, but at length it failed altogether. If God had not soon sent a favorable wind, nearly the whole company would have perished with thirst. Although a favorable wind arose on the 29th of August, yet afterwards frequent calms and contrary winds occurred, so that they had either to lie still or be driven away. When finally they saw land at a distance on the 15th of September, after they had subsisted several days on sweet oil and vinegar, etc., a contrary wind again drove them back from land, so that they only entered Charleston harbor on the 21st of September, in which six days they must have perished of thirst (because already on the 16th, every kind of beverage on board was fully exhausted) had they not, on the said day, met two English ships of war, which supplied them with several tuns of water.

§ 14. On the 24th of September, pastor Mühlenberg continued his journey, together with

the Saltzburg family, from Charleston towards Ebenezer via Savannah, in a boat on the Savannah river. He arrived in Ebenezer on the 4th of October, in company with Rev. Gronau from that place, whom he met in Savannah. The Saltzburg family arrived on the 6th of October. He tarried eight days in that place, which time he employed after his wearisome journey, in strengthening and refreshing himself by the word of God in intercourse with the upright preachers of that place, Revs. Boltzius and Gronau. His joy over the temporal and spiritual blessing of God granted to this Saltzburg colony and its good management, he expressed in his diary at his departure in the following words: "So I must leave Ebenezer. The Lord be its protection and shield, and beneath his blessing let it flourish, bloom, and bear much fruit. The worthy patrons and benefactors in Europe did not bestow their favors in vain. It really seems here just as represented in the printed reports in Germany, and in many respects still better than it was represented. In temporal affairs it is a marvel how the poor people prospered by the help of God, and in things spiritual, a blessed harvest is also to be hoped for."

§ 15. Nothing the less did the before-mentioned teachers of the Saltzburg congregation testify in many passages in their letters, and in their daily register, than that they were very much refreshed by the short stay of pastor Mühlenberg in their place, and by the uprightness of mind manifest in his sermons and in his general intercourse, and also that they were conjoined to him in cordial love. To notice only one of the more recent passages, they write in their diary of the 25th of February, 1743: "A Saltzburg family, consisting of father, mother, and three children, came to Ebenezer five months ago with pastor Mühlenberg. Whilst they were aboard, death as it were, stared them in the face, by reason of the protracted voyage and the utmost scarcity of water, and yet they were providentially saved by a most favorable wind which, in their utmost need, carried them near several English ships of war. Wherefore we have reason to unite ourselves publicly in the praise of God in our memory; not only with them, but also mutually to praise God on account of the blessed guidance of the loved pastor Mühlenberg, which recently came to our knowledge, (by

which is understood his happy reception by the congregations in Pennsylvania); for the heavenly Father has so ordained that through the Spirit of his Son we are united to him in great love, and sympathize with him in every good thing which may befall him. We have prayed for him openly and in secret, and now we must also praise God with him and on account of him." We shall not notice at present any more passages from their letters in which they set forth in language still more impressive their joy over the uprightness of mind of the Rev. Mühlenberg and their special love for him.

§ 16. After the Rev. Mühlenberg had recovered somewhat from the fatigue of traveling by his short stay at Ebenezer, he thought of the further prosecution of his journey. Although pastor Boltzius saw many important hindrances before him, to keep him from going with him, to keep him from going with pastor Mühlenberg to Philadelphia, yet from love of the work of God, he resolved to overcome these, and accompanied him back to Charleston on the 12th of October, with the intent of finding opportunity there to go all the way to Philadelphia. When, however, they

had reached Charleston, on the 20th of October, and understood that no vessel would sail for Philadelphia before spring, and the journey by land was impossible, pastor Boltzius returned again on the 24th of said month to Ebenezer. Circumstances did not permit him to wait all winter in Charleston for an uncertainty, and thus neglect the congregation intrusted to him. After his departure, pastor Mühlenberg for the most part passed the time in instructing several German children, and on Sunday preached several times to the Germans who had come hither.

§ 17. On the 1st of November, a shallop arrived there from Philadelphia, which was to return again. All his friends and the master of the vessel himself assured him that it was too small and might be dangerous in winter, and also that no accommodations were to be had on it for travelers. These difficulties, however, could not detain him, inasmuch as they were outweighed by the great desire to come to the help—the sooner the better—of those forsaken congregations in Pennsylvania. Moreover, the greatest possible hastening of his journey seemed to be required, as the danger of a still further

disorder was threatened by the efforts of Count Zinzendorf, according to the printed reports which he saw at Charleston. He accordingly embarked on this shallop on the 12th of November, and in the name of God sailed for Philadelphia yet on the same day, and once more endured, on this vessel, much fatigue and peril of life for the space of two weeks. Because of the violent tossings of the small ship he had to keep his bed nearly all the time on account of sea sickness. As the waves and the rain dashed into the small cabin of the vessel, he was weakened not a little, as well by the wet as by the cold and constantly wet clothing. Finally, however, he arrived in Philadelphia safely on the 25th of November, 1742.

§ 18. This is not the place to give a detailed account of the condition of the land, and especially of this its chief city. Still, so far as the design of this short report is concerned, it would not be useless, nor unacceptable to the reader, if we here insert from a letter of Pastor Mühlenberg, addressed to a worthy theologian of a certain university, dated August the 12th, 1743, that which he therein says, as well for the praise of the help of God on



his voyage, as of the condition of the country. He writes: "Reverend Sir, I still distinctly remember the last acceptable letter which I received from you in London. One word in it was to me more than others comfortable and impressive, viz.: Reverend Sir, you were pleased to write with my voyage and other circumstances, the Lord will make all things *well*. Certainly the Father reconciled in Christ did *well*, by me, unworthy and unprofitable worm, according to his mercy. *Well*, in London, with the court preacher Ziegenhagen. *Well*, when I embarked alone and as a stranger. *Well*, when on the ship I had to be among a strange nation and a people of a strange tongue. *Well*, when on board I had to pass through many trials, serious illness, and accidents. *Well*, when we with an old ship and without human convoy wandered through many contrary winds, through enemies, and dangerous regions. *Well*, when I had opportunity to set forth in the English tongue, to sinners, my brethren, the great salvation which is in the Saviour of the world and the judgment sure to come for despising grace. *Well*, when we were chastened by violent heat and a torment-

ing thirst. *Well*, when the Lord heard the prayer and sighs of the distressed, and granted a favorable wind, when asked for in faith. *Well*, when he delivered us out of danger, want, and affliction, and permitted us to land safely at Charleston. *Well*, when he also delivered me from evident danger on my journey by river from Carolina to Georgia. *Well*, when he led me in Georgia, to the dear Saltzburghers in Ebenezer, our brethren in the faith, and there permitted me to hear, to see, and to enjoy much good. The Lord did all things *well*, when he brought me back again by river from Georgia to Charleston. *Well*, in this that he powerfully succored and strengthened me in Charleston as a stranger, a forsaken and tempted man. *Well*, when in winter I had to continue my voyage from Charleston to Pennsylvania in a mean shallop over the sea, through storm, discomfort, and grievous sickness. O worthy father, help me together with the rest of the friends of Christ to praise and magnify the merciful and long-suffering God! As respects the state or condition of things of this country: In the principal city, Philadelphia, which is very large, there is one English Episcopal

church which has two preachers, who receive their salary from *Societate de Propaganda Cognitione Christi*, in London. The English Presbyterians have one meeting-house in the city of Philadelphia. The Quakers, as also the English Anabaptists, have their meeting-house in the city. The Moravians have also built a meeting-house. The Catholics have their meeting-house and two or three preachers. The Swedes have one church. In the country there are yet almost numberless sects and sect-houses." Towards the close of this letter he continues: "Money is scarce, but the land is so rich in all kinds of produce, that it may be said to flow with milk and honey. On the one side we still have the Indians or heathen, and on the other side we have the sea. As respects climate, Pennsylvania is for Germans the best country in America. In the country the houses are not together, like the villages in Germany, but there are always several thousand acres in one tract, whereof one man sometimes owns 500, 400, 300, 200, 100, 50, 20, or so and so many acres. Such a region is at first all a forest. When it is settled it is called a township. Certain roads are then

opened which lead towards the city of Philadelphia. If one travels on the road, he travels constantly in thicket or forest, with here and there a house several miles apart, standing near by the road. Most of the houses, however, stand remote from the highway. In the country are various rivers which quickly rise and fall again. They are without bridges over them, but one must ride through them and sometimes also cross them with a boat. When I travel from Philadelphia to the country congregations, I must always cross three streams. In the winter they are frequently dangerous."

§ 19. It is readily understood that the many sects mentioned in this letter might easily have deterred even an experienced man from accepting this call, and together with a deficiency in a knowledge of letters and the ignorance in divine things which had increased from year to year, must be a great hindrance to a real blessing of the word of God in entering upon the office of teacher in these congregations. Pastor Mühlenberg, however, found on his arrival, besides these general, also various special hindrances. The principal among these were, because of the long non-arrival of the regularly

called preachers, the congregations had in part accepted as their teachers, preachers who had been dismissed elsewhere, partly persons who otherwise were unfit for the office, but the congregation in Philadelphia especially had a preacher named Valentine Kraft, who had been dismissed in Zweibrücken; and besides, Count Zinzendorf was in Philadelphia, and had a considerable party. However the first had not only themselves soon to betray their impurity more clearly than it had been before, and the congregations were glad when pastor Mühlenthal produced before them the written call given him in their name and at their request (together with the testimonials and letters in his possession), and, therefore, received him with joy as their teacher, and freed themselves from the pretended preachers; although the aforesaid Kraft pretended to a particular consistorial arrangement, and wished to constitute himself a superintendent. The last also, Count Zinzendorf, could not hinder the work of God. Under the assumed name of a Lord (Herrn) von Thurnstein, he represented himself as Lutheran preacher and inspector in Pennsylvania, and in a lengthy conversation concerning

the Lutheran Church-book, which he had appropriated to himself, he desired pastor Mühlenberg to recognize him as such, and because he had passed him by make an apology to him. He also sought to prevent him from preaching to the Lutherans in the Swedish church, and exerted himself to the utmost to make him distrusted by the congregations, and to turn them away from him. But pastor Mühlenberg received permission from the Swedish churchwardens to use said church for worship both for himself and his congregation, because the old hired Lutheran meeting-house was too small and unserviceable. He was not only accepted by the congregations as their regular teacher, but furthermore acknowledged as such. Count von Zinzendorf was also earnestly directed to return the Church-book of the Lutheran congregation; but soon afterwards, (January 1st), he left Philadelphia. Thus his efforts, as well as afterwards those of his remaining adherents, were in vain to hinder pastor Mühlenberg's entrance into the congregations. His chief care now was, how to employ his time most usefully and best fulfil his office, and also how he might serve to the best of his ability

the three congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence.

§ 20. Although Philadelphia and New Hanover (from which Providence was not far off) were distant from each other thirty-six English or nine German miles, and the frequent traveling to and fro burdensome, and also on account of the intervening streams, occasionally dangerous, yet he resolved as far as his strength permitted, to take charge of the three congregations, until God gave more assistants. He arranged it so that he might remain one week in each congregation, and throughout the week (because of the want of capable schoolmasters) teach the youth the doctrines of Christianity, and conduct the worship of God on Sunday. There was also between New Hanover and Philadelphia a small village called Germantown, in which there were a Lutheran church and congregation, and through several members they manifested their desire to enjoy instruction out of the word of God, along with the rest. He therefore determined to serve this congregation also, as much as possible, during the week appointed for Philadelphia, and to preach there at least once, in

the hope that when God would grant more assistants, Germantown might be united with Philadelphia, and New Hanover and Providence be served by the other preacher.

§ 21. In each place he directed his first care to teaching the nearly grown-up youths, as a number of them, who were in part eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old, had made application for instruction. Although they had as yet made no beginning, as little in reading and writing as in the knowledge of God, yet they made him glad by their desire to learn something. But there were yet older persons present whom he had to teach the first principles of Christianity. On the 10th of January, 1743, a widow in New Hanover brought her daughter to him, twenty-two or twenty-three years old, and who since her seventh year had been among the English Quakers, and who not only was wholly ignorant of Christian doctrine, but had also lost the German language. She had therefore to be taught in English, and so fully comprehended the instruction that on the 6th of February she was able to make her confession of faith in the English language, publicly before the congre-



gation, and was admitted to the Holy Supper. The congregation was much moved on this occasion. On the 6th of June, 1743, he reports the following: "I have had to teach from necessity. One week I teach school in Philadelphia, the next in Providence, and the third in New Hanover, solely to prepare the adult, neglected people for confirmation and the Holy Supper, and also in part for holy baptism. In Providence I have already prepared twenty, confirmed them, and admitted them to the Holy Supper for the first time. Among these were some already married people. In New Hanover I also prepared and confirmed twenty persons, in part from twenty-four to twenty-five years old. In Philadelphia I still as yet have a small number in a state of preparation, who for the most part are not advanced. On Whit-Sunday we had preaching in New Hanover. There were so many that they crowded each other. After the sermon I baptized eleven children in the presence of the congregation, and also a married woman, who had been prepared for it for some time. The woman was of Mennonite and Anabaptist parentage, and had during the time attained a fine living

knowledge. On Whit-Monday we had preaching and the Holy Supper in Providence, with a large congregation. Six adults, who were in part married persons, were confirmed; two youths and two children were baptized." On the 1st of July, 1743, he announces that one of the Anabaptists was instructed by him, and afterwards publicly examined before the congregation, and admitted to the Holy Supper. On the 25th of November, 1743, he gives the following notice: "I baptized a mother with five adult children, in the Germantown congregation. They were so moved, that they might almost have been baptized with their tears. I also baptized a married man at that place. The baptized stand, by the grace of God, in a beautiful growth and bloom."

§ 22. From the few particulars reported, it is easily understood in what a ruinous condition and great ignorance pastor Mühlenberg found these congregations. They had been without any instruction from the word of God; the youth had grown up without being taught, and even adults and married persons, who themselves already had a number of children, had yet to be baptized. He writes in his diary on

the 5th of January, 1743, of the condition of the congregations: "It seems as if now were the time in which God would visit us in Pennsylvania with his special grace. It is indeed high time. If it had remained thus for a few years more, our poor Lutherans would have been wholly scattered, and gone into heathenism. There are some who are not baptized who are married, have children who are also without baptism, and with it are countless sects, opinions and allurements." After mentioning the different religious sects which have churches and meeting-houses in Philadelphia, he continues to describe, to the aforesaid theologian, the condition of the country: "There are not wanting atheists, deists, naturalists, and free masons. In short, there is not a sect in the world which is not cherished here. There are people here of almost every nationality. Whatsoever is not tolerated in Europe finds a place here. The most scandalous things are heard freely and publicly spoken against God and his holy word. In the whole land there are many thousands who, according to their baptism, education and confirmation, should be Lutherans, but they are in part scattered.

There is such a pitiable condition and ruin among our poor Lutheran people, that it cannot be sufficiently wept for with tears of blood. The youth grew up, and the parents have permitted their children in part to grow up without baptism, without instruction and knowledge, and go into heathenism. So I found it, when I arrived in Philadelphia." He likewise wrote in another letter, dated September 22d: "The great mass remains uncultivated, and it is easily imagined that the disorder and confusion, which crept in during thirty years, could not be abolished in one year." To say anything more in this place concerning the lamentable condition of these congregations, in reference to the knowledge and worship of God, on the arrival of pastor Mühlenberg, would be superfluous, as it is readily imagined by every one.

§ 23. Although a single laborer seemed insufficient to restore to order, in some measure, not only one but more such desolated congregations, and also to accomplish only some good, yet pastor Mühlenberg did not suffer himself to be deterred, but sought, by divine assistance, to do his part according to his

ability, and according to the before-mentioned arrangement to exercise his office in all honesty and untiring industry, until it might please the Lord to give him some help. God also did not permit his endeavor to be without any blessing, inasmuch as the hearts of the hearers were turned to him to receive the instruction the more eagerly and attentively. Many also who were either scattered among other sects or hitherto separated themselves from the worship of God only for this reason, because they would have nothing to do with the uncalled preachers, returned again, and now for the future could enjoy the instruction from the word of God with the more blessing. As may also be seen from the preceding, the instruction was not without a blessing to adults and children. Among others, he makes mention of an aged woman of ninety years, in the congregation at New Hanover, that she in her preparation for the Holy Supper made him very glad with believing and edifying conversation. In various letters he reports that anxiously as things were progressing in his office, and corrupt as the congregations had been, the Lord still granted some blessing here and there ; the

word did not return again altogether empty. His only regret was, that from the want of some fellow laborers he could only work upon the whole mass, and not sufficiently look to the special care of souls. On the 25th of November he writes: "In the Germantown congregation, the Lord gave some blessing; among others, the gospel won an old, gray-headed man, who had been one of Dippel's adherents, and brought him to the knowledge of the sufficient atonement of Christ. He afterwards died happy, and his end was edifying." He hopes when he receives assistants, and the work through the word of God in the congregations be constantly persevered in, there might, with the help of God, a true improvement be effected, and the Lord manifest a greater blessing.

§ 24. As the divided and scattered Lutherans by this time began to gather again, and in Philadelphia the hired meeting-house had become too small and unserviceable, and the Swedish congregation could spare their church for the use of the Germans no longer than until the arrival of their new preacher, who was then still expected; and in Providence also the

worship of God had hitherto to be held in a barn, not without great inconvenience, in which there was not even room enough, by reason of the increase of the congregation; thus the highest necessity seemed to require that they should think of building churches of their own in both places.

§ 25. In Providence there were fewer difficulties than in Philadelphia, because the congregation in that place is less numerous, and therefore the church would cost less. Concerning the building of which pastor Mühlenberg reports, under date January 5th, 1743, as follows: "On Wednesday, the 5th of January, we celebrated Epiphany in Providence, and I again preached for the congregation in the barn. The people of this congregation are attentive and eager to hear the Word. The dear wardens of this congregation have resolved in the name of the Lord to begin building a church. I have already twice published it to the congregation, and encouraged them to prayer and trust in God. A church is very much needed by us. For this purpose I wrote a letter, and permitted the wardens to go around with it in the congregation, and note that which

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each member would contribute from a willing heart. We have here, thank God, no want of meat and drink ; but money is scarce, because the country people must carry their produce to the city, and receive very little for it. It is not well to build with timber here, because it speedily decays, and to build with stone is expensive. I have added a draught of a stone church. According to the design it may easily reach two hundred pound sterling. God has remarkably stirred their hearts and made them zealous to build, for after we had visited the whole congregation, nearly one hundred pounds of our money was subscribed. One pound sterling makes one pound and a half of our money. The congregation indeed exerted itself to the utmost, as every one admits. Now, Reverend Sir, whatever of the remaining collected moneys are in your hands as their third part, we expect to apply with what we have. But where is the rest to come from? May the merciful God awaken hearts in Europe to come to our help! The members of the congregation are so united (they are already hauling stone to the place), that I am delighted. We have also already built a wooden school-house.



In this township there is an English church and a Mennonite meeting-house, but there never was as yet a Lutheran church, and now the first is to be built. The masons wish to begin work on the 1st of May." He then notices the following in a letter of the 6th of June, 1743: "On the 2d of May we laid the corner-stone of the first Lutheran church in Providence. A very great multitude of people was present, both English and German. We first sang the hymn, 'Befiehl du deine Wege,' etc. Afterwards I delivered a German discourse on Zech. xiv. 7. After its conclusion I also preached in the English language. By the help of God, the masons had already raised the wall to a considerable extent in the beginning of June. Here many difficulties must also be passed." In another letter of the 22d of September, 1743, this is likewise reported: "On the 31st of August we placed the roof on the new church in Providence, and on the 12th of September we left our barn and for the first time had divine service in the new church. It is not as yet completed, but we shall not consecrate it until it is entirely finished. Meanwhile the congregation in New

Hanover, where there was already a wooden, but still unfinished church, built a school-house, which by the help of God was erected on the 1st of September.

§ 26. In Philadelphia, however, there were many more hindrances to be overcome, inasmuch as the numerous Lutheran congregation in this extensive city not only required a larger and consequently more expensive church, but the sites in this city had become scarce, and many evil-minded persons sought to place difficulties in the way. Nevertheless, God also helped in this case to overcome all opposition, as may be seen in the following report of pastor Mühlenberg. Among other things, he writes in his diary: "Tuesday, January the 18th, 1743. Thirty or twenty years ago, a place for a church and churchyard could have been obtained in the city for a small sum of money. Now there are scarcely any locations more to purchase, or if there were one as large as a small field that could be bought, according as it is in the city, they may ask four, five to six hundred pounds. A location could more readily be obtained by paying ground-rent, but they ask, per foot, two and a half, three, and also four shillings ster-

ling, annually. In this manner we would have to pay yearly for an indifferent church location, ten or twelve or more pounds sterling. And yet the purchasable, as well as the ground-rent sites, are becoming dearer every day, and the Lutherans increasing every year. The longer, therefore, the building of a church is deferred, the more difficult and impossible it becomes. We resolved, therefore, to place these circumstances before the congregation. I made a note of several points. On Sunday, the 23d of January, after the sermon, I read to the congregation that which I had written concerning the building of a church, and said whoever would contribute something to this object should remain in the church, and have his name recorded. The most remained and subscribed what they would give, and God blessed the beginning, so that one hundred and twenty pounds of our money was subscribed. I made agreement with the church wardens, that they might, in the name of God, look around for a church location. February 18th, 1743. Our wardens have again exerted themselves to the utmost with reference to a site for a church, but failed in obtaining one. I presented the

matter to the All-wise God in prayer. If it is his will that we should have a church here, then he will also show us a place. Saturday, the 12th of March. The wardens of Philadelphia related to me, with inward joy, that they were contracting for a church site, which would cost nearly two hundred pounds. It is much better to purchase a place than to pay ground-rent. But we have enemies who gladly cast stones in our way. It is still uncertain whether we shall get the location or not. Our people are very eager to build a church, and have subscribed so much that we may have over two hundred pounds of our money. If we fail in church building, we shall scarcely succeed with the Lutheran congregation. If the Lord does not build the house, we cannot."

§ 27. The preliminaries to the building of a new church in Philadelphia had at this time progressed thus far. The actual beginning of the same he reports in a letter of the 6th of June, wherein he notices, among other things, the following: "In the week before Easter, the gracious God granted us a location for a church in the centre of the city. The site is excellent, and affords also at the same time a

churchyard. It costs one hundred and some pounds sterling, and we could immediately obtain twenty pounds more, if we desired to sell the place again. We are and will be more and more necessitated to begin building a church in Philadelphia, in reliance upon the living God. If this is not done, the little company of Lutherans will gradually fail. On the 5th of April, we, in the name of God, laid the corner-stone of the first German Lutheran church in Philadelphia. The Swedish preacher from another place, who during the present vacancy in the Swedish church occasionally conducts the public service, was present. The English preacher also desired to be with us, but a case of necessity occurred, so that he was obliged to take a journey into the country. There were very many people present, enemies as well as friends. When we were once necessitated to build, we had also to care for our descendants. We therefore adopted a proper size; 70 feet in length, 45 in breadth, and 27 in height, without the arch of 9 feet. We also erected a steeple for a pair of bells. At the lowest, the building is estimated at eight hundred pounds sterling. We rely upon

the living God. Building is a heavy burden, especially if you are poor and have so many enemies. Notwithstanding the many obstacles, the gracious God has already helped us so far that the masons have nearly finished one story, in the beginning of June." He further writes, on the 1st of July: "In Philadelphia the masons expect to finish the wall within four weeks. The hand of God is in it. We did not begin the work through temerity, but from pressing necessity. According to the English and the laws of this country, no sect or religion was permitted to build a church, except those belonging to the English church, and besides these, the Lutherans. Whilst then we were permitted to build a church, so had we also to erect a steeple for bells, 85 feet in height. Those who envied us expected that we should soon get into prison and be disgraced, if we could not pay." In another letter, he further writes: "The estimate of the cost most accurately made is 5,500 Rix dollars according to German money. In such a public building the English workingmen will not do anything until some one obligates himself to pay, either verbally or by writing. Accordingly, four of

our church-wardens agreed, and obligated themselves for the building. The men indeed are not very rich, but they are true-hearted, and venture it upon God's credit. Our Lutheran companions in the faith, in a new town called Lancaster, sixty miles from Philadelphia, presented us with 100 Rix dollars according to German money."

§ 28. Finally pastor Mühlenberg reports the completion of the exterior of the building, in his last letter of the 25th of November, in the following words: "Amid these troubles the gracious God prospered the Philadelphia church so far, that it is under roof and the steeple is erected. The gracious God has ordered it even so. As the Swedes have received their own preacher, they need their church themselves and cannot accommodate us, because the days are too short. We have indeed as yet no windows in our church, and the scaffolding as yet stands on the inside; but we have in the meanwhile closed the twenty-eight windows and the three doors with boards, and to my inward comfort and that of many others, held divine service in it for the first time on the 20th of October, as the twenty-fifth Sunday after

Trinity. Oh God! what a favor this in a land so strange and wild! Our opponents have still ever hoped, that the four men who had undertaken and were responsible for the building, would get into prison on account of the debts, before the church was so far finished. On this Lord's day we again sang the beautiful hymn, "Befiehl du deine Wege," etc. Instead of the epistle, I read from the fourth chapter of the first book of Maccabees from the 36th verse to the end of the chapter. Afterwards I explained the prayer of Solomon, first Kings, eighth chapter, 22d verse, etc." This two-fold church-building in Philadelphia and Providence is that to which was applied whatever remained of the collections received and already actually transmitted to Pennsylvania for this purpose, after deducting the traveling expenses of pastor Mühlenberg, and that which would yet be required for the mission of several new laborers. It is, however, easily perceived that this was far from sufficient to defray the expenses of this extensive building of churches, especially, also, as a considerable sum was yet required for doors and windows, and whatever else is necessary in the interior of a church. But we have trust in the



gracious God that he will also provide for the remaining need."

§ 29. As pastor Mühlenberg in all his letters set forth the necessity of sending him several assistants both for church and schools, the congregations also, through him, earnestly making entreaty for the same, so God also herein graciously heard the prayer of his servants and children. He ordered it, that a suitable candidate of theology, Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, born in Nübül, a village of the principality of Glücksburg in the dukedom of Schleswig, was proposed thereto, by the consent of all those who were acquainted with the state of things in Pennsylvania, and with his gifts and faithfulness. He had not only laid a good foundation in theological knowledge, but had also hitherto sought to keep the mystery of faith in a pure conscience. After his university years he had given proof, on the estates of a certain Christian nobleman, of his faithfulness and gifts in public preaching of the word of God and in intercourse with souls. After he had examined what was the will of God, he was also willing to accept the call, given him through Dr. and Prof. Franke, of

the Pennsylvania congregation, whereupon he was examined by the most noble Stolberg Consistorium at Wernigeroda, and on the 12th of April, 1744, he was ordained in the palace chapel of that place, and then continued his journey to Hamburg via Hanover. There were also two other blameless students of theology found, not far from Giessen—Messrs Schaum and Kurtz—who were accepted as chanters, and followed him to Hamburg, and already, on the 1st of July last, began their voyage to Pennsylvania by way of England.

§ 30. As divine Providence was again clearly perceived, as well in the election and calling of these new assistants, as in their departure also, so there was no reason to doubt that it was the gracious purpose of God, who commanded the light to shine out of the darkness, to let his light shine ever more clearly for the congregations of Pennsylvania, that among them also, through the teachers granted to them, might arise the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. When the entrance of pastor Mühlenberg and the present mission of these new assistants became known in some places, God raised up so many bene-

factors, who sent in so much, that not only the voyage to England of the latter was paid for, but forty pounds sterling remained over. Besides the 547 Rix dollars, from another Christian patroness of distinction, who has interested herself in this work with extraordinary zeal, which were already transmitted to England for their benefit, may likewise be so used, that should the sum retained from the former collections be insufficient for the further voyage to Pennsylvania of the new assistants, it should be fully paid herefrom, but the residue be applied to the before-mentioned church-building. For these benefactions we hereby publicly and again heartily thank all the high patrons and most worthy friends, and humbly call upon God for their temporal and eternal recompense. We also have this reliance upon him, that according to his heart-controlling power he will raise up more benefactors, and advance this new rising blessing by their kind and voluntary help. But whoever has at heart the extension of the kingdom of God and the salvation of souls, will also be awakened by this brief notice to humbly praise God for his help already shown, and further call upon him in

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childlike prayer, for his aid on the voyage of the just-mentioned other preacher and the two chanters, as also for his further blessing on the exercise of their office of all the laborers. But God, who can do exceedingly more than all we ask or understand, conduct these new helpers upon their voyage, and bring them under his protection through every danger in blessing to their place! Through their labors, may he also rescue many souls out of the kingdom of darkness, and translate them into the kingdom of his dear Son, to the glory of his name. Amen, So may it be."

## CHAPTER II.

### A CONTINUATION OF THE SHORT REPORT OF SEVERAL EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS IN AMERICA.

DURING the past year a short report of several Evangelical congregations in America was issued from the press, from which, among other things, is seen in what manner the German Evangelical congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, in the province of Pennsylvania, occasionally, for a number of years, besought Dr. and Prof. Franke in Halle, and the royal court preacher of Great Britain in London, Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, that a regular preacher be sent them. It also appears therein, that after the removal of several difficulties, Mr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg was sent thither in fulfillment of this desire, and how he also, after his safe arrival in Philadelphia, November 25th, 1742, was received by the said three congregations, to

which Germantown was added, with great eagerness and love. It is likewise noticed in the same short report, when the work could not be accomplished by one preacher alone, how he, together with said congregations, anew earnestly entreated that more assistants in church and schools might be sent him, and how thereupon, Mr. Peter Brunnholtz as second preacher, and two assistants or catechists, Messrs. Schaum and Kurtz, after having accepted the call, began their voyage from Hamburg to England and Pennsylvania on the 1st of July, 1744. Nothing the less is it known from the same source, that the formerly-remitted kind favors from benevolent hearts, for these congregations, were applied as well to defray the expenses of the voyage of all the laborers, as for the necessitated building of churches in Philadelphia and Providence, although not as yet fully sufficient for this purpose. The kind reader will also remember from the same short report, what a blessed reception, notwithstanding all obstacles, pastor Mühlenberg had in these congregations, after they had been so long a time without regular teachers, so that the old and the young, with great eagerness, permitted

themselves to be instructed out of the word of God. Parents with their children, or other aged people, received holy baptism ; and besides these, also other adults, and in part married persons, were prepared for their first communion. Altogether the attention, the eagerness and obedience with which such people received instruction from the word of God, awakened an inward joy in pastor Mühlenberg, and made his heavy labor sweet.

§ 2. As it has frequently been asked, whether any news had as yet come from said pastor Brunnholtz and his companion's arrival in Pennsylvania, and whether the blessing which the Lord began to give to the publication of the Word, still continued, we could not refuse to make known hereby, to the joy of all patrons, friends and benefactors, who heartily desire the extension of the kingdom of God generally, and also in this region, and in part advanced by their kind contributions, that such news, after some delay, was recently received. On the 22d of May, of this year, the long-expected letters arrived from Philadelphia, from pastor Mühlenberg, and from pastor Brunnholtz himself, to the court preacher Ziegenhagen and

Dr. and Prof. Franke, in Halle. They were written in March of the present year, and contain: 1, The safe arrival of the new laborers; 2, of many trials pastor Mühlenberg had to endure until then; 3, of the continuance of the blessing of the Word, and 4, of church building—many memorable things, of which, briefly, the most necessary and important are hereby communicated, to the praise of God.

§ 3. As respects the first item, viz., the safe arrival of the new laborers, every one who remembers from the former short report, what an extensive, and on account of much traveling, very difficult work, pastor Mühlenberg found in the aforesaid four congregations, and how faithfully he assumed the whole—without respect to his ease—may easily imagine with what longing desire he looked for the arrival of additional laborers and assistants. All diligence was also used, to hasten to the utmost the mission of such fellow-laborers, because it was well understood, how necessary it was to come to his help, lest he should in the meantime succumb to the work. These last also were not wanting in the desire to be in America speedily, that they might offer their hand to



pastor Mühlenberg. But they must needs also learn to surrender this their good impulse and desire to the will of the all-wise God. In their voyage from Hamburg to England, they were detained three weeks by contrary winds. In England they had to wait a considerable time for the departure of vessels. Also after they had embarked at Gravesend, September 22d, 1744, on a ship bound for Pennsylvania, they were again detained more than nine weeks in the English harbor, until they could go to sea on the 29th of November, under protection of the fleet of Admiral Dayers.

§ 4. Concerning their voyage and arrival in Pennsylvania, it is furthermore stated, that on the third day the said fleet was separated from them by a violent storm, with the exception of one man-of-war, which convoyed them through the Spanish sea, to Cape Finisterre, where they left it on the 9th of December; and after they had eleven days of fair, but after that four weeks of contrary winds for the most part, and occasionally such violent storms that they had to fasten the rudder, they arrived safely at Philadelphia, on the 26th of January, 1745. During the entire voyage they had not seen a hostile

ship, and were perfectly well on their arrival. When they had landed and were about going to the city, a German approached them out of the forest, and when he observed that they were strangers from the vessel which had just arrived, he asked them whether no evangelical preachers came along with it? After they had made themselves known to him, he with great joy brought them to a German merchant in the city, by whom, as well as by the wardens, and other members of the congregation, who came together on the report of their arrival, they were received and welcomed with much gladness. All heartily praised God for their safe arrival, as he before had been called upon publicly and specially, for his protection and help on their voyage. But pastor Mühlenberg, who was in his country congregations, was forthwith cheered with the pleasant tidings by a messenger.

§ 5. Now, after his immediate return to Philadelphia, Mr. Brunnhøltz preached on the following Sunday, for the congregation of this place, and was recognized and accepted as their teacher and second preacher. His call also, drawn up in their name, was undersigned

and ratified by the wardens and all the members. The same was likewise done in Germantown on the 5th of February; on the 7th of the same month, as the next Sunday, at Providence; and on the 9th of the same, at New Hanover also. He was presented to all the four congregations for this purpose, that he, with pastor Mühlenberg, might at first do the work in the same in common, alternating in it, and also, when they had afterwards regularly divided the work, according to the clearly recognized will of God, they could the better assist each other, and both work together for the same object in all the congregations. After earnest prayer to God, and mature consideration of all the circumstances, they had already made the arrangement with reference to the two assistants or catechists: Mr. Kurtz was assigned to the newly-built school-house in New Hanover, but Mr. Schaum remained in Philadelphia; and both had commenced to teach school, in which, also, old people were present, who were not ashamed to sit among the little children and learn their letters. As for the rest, the congregations acknowledged the benefit which they had received, through

the newly sent laborers, in church and schools, with hearty thanks to God and the instruments he had hereunto employed.

§ 6. Besides, pastor Brunnholtz mentions particularly that said congregations cherished a special love and esteem for pastor Mühlenberg, after they observed a different spirit in him than was found in those who assumed to be teachers without a regular call. He also exercised his office with much industry, labor, and care, and in all uprightness, and God noticeably stood by him in all the difficulties and trials which had hitherto befallen him; and also blessed his faithful service, that much was not only brought into tolerable order externally, but also a true internal amendment followed in many souls, or is yet to be hoped for, to win whom his kind and humble walk contributed not a little. Furthermore, that he, pastor Brunnholtz, would endeavor according to the grace which God should bestow, to follow him in the earnest and faithful exercise of his office, and not only publish the word of God pure and unadulterated in public discourse, but also to labor especially, in all faithfulness, for the salvation of souls. In order that he might

become better acquainted with the sheep committed to his care, and might know how to reprove, teach, instruct, and exhort his hearers according to the condition of each one, he had commenced to visit them in their homes. On this wise, he had already found many hearts eager for the word of God, of whom he, besides pastor Muhlenberg, would take the more care, and would seek to lead them upon the true foundation.

§ 7. Concerning the second item, viz.: the various trials which pastor Mühlenberg had to endure hitherto, in the exercise of his office, it is sufficient to mention the following only, from his letters. He says that, first of all, he was not in a little trouble, as well because the arrival of the needed assistants was delayed beyond expectation, as also because the letters sent to him from England and Germany did not arrive in due time on account of the maritime war. Besides the increase of his own grief and care, several enemies not only siezed the opportunity to deride him, that he was now also forsaken by his patrons and friends in Europe, but some also sought in every way to make him distrusted by the congregations, and

among other things to accuse him, as though he applied the money collected to his own use. But the calumny was refuted by the letters which at length arrived, and the remittance thereby of the collections. The chief author of this slander was a preacher who had been degraded in Germany, who also afterwards sought to occasion him many a displeasure. But when pastor Mühlenberg's faithfulness to the congregations was sufficiently revealed in the conscience of all his hearers, their confidence in him was not weakened, but rather strengthened the more by the manifestation of his innocence; and those who were prejudiced by him, were won again, and set in good order. After this, indeed, slanders yet more gross and shameless were not wanting; but God made his innocence manifest everywhere. To mention other reproach, in this place, which befell him for the sake of Christ, would be too lengthy. We may say however that his person as well as his office were publicly and particularly reviled by one and another, and names invented were given him by the world, in contempt of true Christianity, whereby, indeed, the enemy sought to hinder the blessing of his office. But

God did not permit him to succeed, but was the more powerfully with the pastor for the conviction and winning of souls. Yea, the more the perverse exerted themselves to make him despicable, without his seeking the more he was honored by the unprejudiced, and in the greater consideration he was held by his hearers, according to the afore-mentioned testimony of pastor Brunnholtz.

§ 8. But thirdly, in relation to the actual fruits of his office, the Lord not only granted him the necessary health and strength to prosecute his work uninterruptedly, but also did not permit the enemy to place any hindrance in his way, in the public or private publication of the Word; but also continued and increased the blessing, noticed in the first short report, whereof he only mentions the following few examples, in his foregoing letters. In the German-town congregation he instructed a small number of young people, and admitted them to their first communion. In the same place, he also baptized three adult children in one house, and a married man of nearly forty years, with his two adult children, who, in their simplicity, heartily besought their father that he might

receive holy baptism. In Philadelphia, also, a young woman of twenty-five, of Quaker parentage, was publicly baptized, and a woman was confirmed. In New Hanover, a Quaker with four children was baptized, whose wife had already received the Holy Sacrament of baptism on New Year, 1744. Both married people, besides two others, were afterwards admitted to the Holy Supper, and now, with theirs, lead a Christian life. Finally, he recently baptized a respectable German with five children, who already for a long time had been affected by the power of God's word, but because he consulted with flesh and blood, could not resolve to receive holy baptism, until he at length had prevailed, and overcome every obstacle. It may be hoped of all, that they were of good intention; inasmuch as, in this free country, they could neither expect temporal enjoyment and profit, nor yet honor and respectability before the world. Besides these persons brought again into the communion of the Evangelical church, the Lord Jesus manifested himself so powerfully in many souls, through his holy word, that he hopes to see fruit thereof in the life to come. Some, also, already



died happy. He might, indeed, yet write of more seeming particular fruits, but he would first see whether it be anything well-founded and permanent. In the meanwhile, this little will be sufficient to awaken to a hearty praise of God Christian readers, who have their delight in the works of the Lord, who has already permitted his word to accomplish in some, that whereunto he sent it. May he further bless it hereto evermore, that his glory and the salvation of man may be promoted.

§ 9. It yet remains, in the fourth place, to notice briefly the circumstances reported concerning the building of churches, to which we consider ourselves the more obligated; inasmuch as the money remaining of the collections, after defraying the traveling expenses of the teachers, was applied to this object, as already stated. The chief design of this report, besides the glory of God, is, that the most worthy patrons and benefactors might know how their kind gifts were used. It may also be remembered as yet, from the former short report, that a beginning was made to build a large church in Philadelphia, and a smaller in Providence, and the same also so far completed, that

the worship of God could be held in both, although not as yet entirely finished. The church in Philadelphia, according to the more exact estimate made, would cost 1000 pounds sterling, or 5500 Rix dollars, but the church in Providence, only 200 pounds sterling or 1100 Rix dollars. Besides these two churches, a school-house was built in New Hanover, where there was a church already, though not entirely completed. As this building of churches might seem to many as either quite unnecessary, or at least hasty and premature, or the arrangement of the same too costly, pastor Mühlenberg mentioned that the worship of God, which was held in a barn in Providence, was not only subject to much inconvenience, but that the barn was also too small to contain the ever-growing congregation, so that many in public worship were incommoded by the weather on the outside under the open heavens, and therefore the building of a church by the congregation of this place could not be thought amiss by any one. There was a similar necessity in Philadelphia also, as the old hired Lutheran meeting-house was too small, and besides the congregation had a suit in law

with some who laid claim to it; and although the German congregation at first by special grant of the Swedish congregation, had obtained permission to worship in their church, which, notwithstanding the envy of other parties, was given them, until they could meet in their own church, as mentioned in the former report, about the time when the German congregation began the worship of God in their own church, the expected Swedish preacher arrived; consequently that church was used by their congregation, and could by no means any longer be given to the Germans, as the short days of winter were approaching. Hence it is sufficiently clear, that this building was not prematurely begun, but is much more to be recognized, as a providence of God, that it was yet completed in due time; because otherwise the worship of God must have been nearly altogether interrupted, for a time; at least, there was no place at hand, where the whole congregation would have found room for their meeting.

§ 10. As for the rest, that this congregation was tolerably large also appears, among other things, from a more recent letter from pastor Brunnholtz of April 23d, 1745, which just

arrived when this was thus far written. In it he mentions that the newly-built church in Philadelphia is indeed pretty large, still it is entirely filled on Sundays, and more continually returned to the congregation, of those who had formerly separated themselves; as for example, a man from the Germantown congregation made application a few days since, who had not gone to church in eighteen years, who also desired to have five grown children baptized. Whence it is manifest that the building of this church was not begun on too large a scale, and as pastor Mühlenberg elsewhere mentioned, that on account of the size required, it could the less be built of timber. He indeed also at first advised this to save expense. But as such a wooden structure would nevertheless have cost over 1,000 Rix dollars, and the wardens represented to the congregation that it could not be of long duration, especially as the timber in that country decays sooner than in this, on which account the members objected to giving anything because, after some time, it would be labor lost. It was necessary, therefore, to resolve upon building with stone, and trust to

God that he would provide the necessary means. To cite in detail whatever more he mentioned hereof, would be too lengthy in this place. In the meanwhile, this little may suffice to see the necessity of this church-building, and besides, any one will easily understand that without the most urgent need, they would not have involved themselves in a work so extensive, and taken such a risk, as did pastor Mühlenberg and the wardens.

§ 11. But as these commenced, all in reliance upon the help and sure aid of God alone, so he also did not hitherto permit them to come to shame, but has already given them very clear proofs of his timely care, inasmuch as the church in Providence is not only entirely finished now, but the church in Philadelphia also had, in a rather short time, been so far completed that the congregation can worship in it. Next, God has also already provided so much for the payment of both, that of the debts originally incurred, only a little more than 400 pounds sterling, or over 2,200 Rix dollars, remain to be paid on the church in Philadelphia, and 50 pounds sterling, or 275 Rix dollars, on the church in Providence; which stands on in-

terest, because, as already reported, the congregation exerted itself to the utmost in this matter, and the congregation in Philadelphia especially had collected about 200 pounds sterling before the building was commenced. Several neighboring congregations made a present, and 200 pounds sterling of the former collections were transmitted to Pennsylvania from Europe. Besides, there were 40 pounds sterling, or 220 Rix dollars, collected in the German Lutheran church in London, and 547 Rix dollars from Germany, as already reported, which can be sent for that object, to which yet belong 30 pounds sterling, or 165 Rix dollars, which were since appointed for this church building by kind benefactors, and transmitted to Pennsylvania in the beginning of this year, which will soon be followed by 150 Rix dollars.

§ 12. But we hope that God will further vouchsafe his favor, that these poor German congregations and their teachers may still further receive assistance, and the newly-rising blessing in this strange land not only be retained, but extended further evermore; of which, also, many a hope manifests itself. We have this special confidence in his goodness, that he will

awaken Christian hearts, that will again freely consecrate something of the blessing, which he has placed in their hand, to him from whom they have all, for his service in promoting the prosperity of these congregations. For although God, who has helped hitherto, is to be praised, that even those who thought that pastor Mühlenberg or the wardens would be imprisoned for debt, before the completion of the building, or be forced to abscond, may be convinced that God's special hand is in the work, still the burden of the remaining debts encumbers the congregations not a little, especially as in the church in Philadelphia, besides the annual interest of the debts, the windows are yet to be made, and the pews to be finished. With this heavy burden, it will be hard for this congregation to support the preachers and assistants, as most of the members of the German congregations have little wealth, and have already contributed so much of their means to church building. It must also be remembered, that in the beginning pastor Mühlenberg indeed had the choice, if the congregations were unable to give him the necessary support in the first years, to take it from the collections. He also

signified his willingness, to retain a yearly salary of the before mentioned 200 pounds sterling, as the congregations could scarcely give him anything much in the first years; and he had the misfortune to lose two horses by much traveling, which, with an increased expenditure for clothing for such journeys, was rather burdensome; but as the buildings for church and school pressed the congregations so heavily, he afterwards did not do it, but gave the whole sum to church building, in the hope that God, according to his paternal faithfulness, would provide for him in time.

§ 13. Finally, besides the above mentioned, there still remains somewhat to be noticed, from the aforesaid last letter of pastor Brunnholtz. He writes that he, together with pastor Mühlberg, and the two fellow-laborers or catechists, are yet in good health, that he does not regret it that he accepted the call thither, although he must feel the weight of importance of his office, whereby he, in poverty of spirit, recognizes his unfitness and unworthiness thereto. He daily seeks the sheep entrusted to him, and publishes to them, publicly and particularly, the counsel of God for their salvation.



The power of the word of God did not leave itself without a witness in many, who frequently visit him, when he has opportunity to ascertain whether they advance or backslide. It is necessary to have a special eye to all, because they are exposed to manifold danger of seduction, on the right hand and on the left. At another time, when he preaches publicly, he has a mixed multitude before him, in which various religionists appear; but he seeks to present to the congregation the truths as they regularly flow from the text, when error and lies are spontaneously exposed together. For the sake of our own people, he also on occasion gladly gives testimony from the writings of Luther, that they may see that he remains by the truth taught by him out of the word of God. Mr. Schaum continues his school in Philadelphia, which is ever increasing; God is with him and helps him forward. He also occasionally preaches for pastor Brunnholtz. Mr. Kurtz has a large school in New Hanover, and much labor, and the congregation also is well satisfied with him. In Philadelphia, whenever he is in this congregation, he (viz., pastor Brunnholtz) preaches twice on Sundays. Since

his former letter, he was in the country congregations in New Hanover and Providence for a fortnight, and preached once in each, as pastor Mühlenberg in the meanwhile served the congregation in Philadelphia. In this time he had also been in a place called Oley, ten English miles from Hanover, and preached for the Lutheran congregation of that place, in a house in which they assembled. During Lent, however, he was in the city continually, and prepared the children for the Holy Supper. In the week previous to dispatching his letter, he likewise went, by urgent request, to Cohansey, a place opposite the Delaware, 36 English or about 9 German miles distant from Philadelphia, and preached to the forsaken Lutheran congregation of that place, who indeed have a church, but no preacher, and are unable to keep one. In the meanwhile they helped them to a schoolmaster, and gave him the late Prof. Franke's Postil, to read a sermon therefrom every Sunday. They were also entreated from various other places to visit them occasionally and preach for them. But inasmuch as they had their own congregations, they also had to apportion themselves, to use the regular time

for their work, that they might preach the word of God profoundly and plainly. They were unable to serve them at all times, as they wished; still, they could not always refuse, and did with pleasure as much as they were able. Those people are so scattered in their dwellings, that they cannot all support preachers, especially as they are poor—as most German people came poor into the country. May the faithful God graciously care for these still uncared-for congregations!

§ 14. Thus much we desired to communicate to the Christian reader, concerning the efforts made to help these German congregations of the Lutheran church in America, in providing them with the divine means of grace, and of the blessing of God given thereto. All this, indeed, is of small account in the eyes of the world; but whoever reflects in what a forsaken condition the congregations had hitherto been, and into what a ruin they must ultimately have fallen if God had not manifested his help to them, at the proper time, will find cause to acknowledge this as a special favor of God. We then doubt not that it will be acceptable to the Christian reader to find in these few pages

a short but sufficient account, taken from the teacher's own letters, of the course of the newly-rising blessing in America, in relation to the congregations in Pennsylvania. But he will also permit himself to be awakened hereby, to praise God for such grace, and heartily call upon him for his aid and blessing. But to him, the merciful God, whose gracious will is not that any one should perish, but all come to the knowledge of the truth and attain eternal salvation, be humble thanks given, that he also turned with compassionate grace to these congregations, as perishing sheep without a shepherd, and has already done more than we before could understand or hope. May he protect all who hear his word and thence his kind shepherd-voice, from despising such grace, and graciously grant that they truly turn from their error, and as sheep found, permit themselves to be gathered to the flock of Jesus Christ. May he also, for this purpose, send his word ever more richly into these distant regions, and ever furnish his servants there with more power for its proclamation, for the glorification of his great name, and especially of his compassionate love of mankind, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen.

## CHAPTER III.

### SECOND CONTINUATION OF THE SHORT REPORT OF SEVERAL EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CON- GREGATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEIGH- BORING PROVINCES IN AMERICA.

It is no doubt recollected, from a short report printed two years ago, and its first continuation, published last year, how the merciful God a few years since began to care for various until then forsaken German Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, especially in Philadelphia, Germantown, Providence and New Hanover, providing them with regular teachers, and setting his word on the candlestick among them. Since not only Mr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, sent thither as the first regularly called preacher of these congregations, and arriving among them on the 25th of November, 1742, but also Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, who as their second preacher, besides two assistants, Messrs. Schaum and Kurtz, were sent afterwards and arrived there January

26th, 1745, who heartily care that a good and Christian order be re-established among them; and by the divine blessing, they also have so far succeeded, that already many, who had separated themselves from communion with the church, have returned again, and in part received holy baptism with wife and children.

§ 2. Although, in consequence of the insecurity of navigation hitherto, such circumstantial reports as we wished for, could not arrive; still in consequence of the many inquiries of good friends, we have been induced to give a second continuation of such short report, from the letters and accounts received, for the glorification of the name of God, and to the praise of his great mercy, in the hope that this little may be for the pleasure of patrons and benefactors. Information will herein be given: 1, of the exercise of their office and work of both the preachers and assistants; 2, of the blessing of the word of God published, as of the genuine fruit of the office, and the reported signs and traces thereof; 3, of church-building; and 4, of the desire of more German congregations in Pennsylvania and surrounding regions, for true teachers,

§ 3. In the first place, then, as respects the exercise of the office and work of the two preachers and their assistants, it was already mentioned in the first continuation, that, as pastor Mühlenberg served the above-said four congregations, until the arrival of the new fellow-laborers, so also was pastor Brunnholtz accepted by all of them, as their regular teacher and second pastor ; and both, at first, alternated with each other, that they might have more time to examine the traces of the divine guidance, before they regularly divided themselves in the work, and agreed which congregations each one would undertake specially to serve. When, therefore, they had maturely considered all the circumstances, they finally, in June, 1745, mutually, and with the approval of the congregations, agreed that pastor Mühlenberg particularly devote himself to the congregations in Providence and New Hanover, and for this purpose settle at the former place. On the other hand, the special care of the congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown, fell to the lot of pastor Brunnholtz, who lives in Philadelphia. However, in this arrangement, they agreed that each one should also take a

heartly interest in the welfare of the other congregations, and that the one would not undertake anything of importance, without the knowledge and advice of the other; thus they occasionally have a meeting and fraternal conference, and in sincere love and unity, consider and agree upon all things necessary.

§ 4. In preaching, they accommodate themselves as much as possible to the capacity of the hearers, and condescend to them, that they may have a real benefit from the discourse. For some time already, before the arrival of the new fellow-laborers, pastor Mühlenberg immediately repeated the sermons, in questions and answers with the congregation, whereof he perceived a profit and a blessing. They are not satisfied with the public annunciation of the word of God, but they also seek opportunity to influence the hearts of the hearers particularly. For this reason, they not only gladly receive their visits, but speak with them according to their condition, out of the word of God. They also permit those who would receive the Holy Supper, to announce themselves to them the week before, that they may examine them, and speak to them that which



is needful ; but they also visit them, as much as possible, in their own homes. Pastor Brunnholtz, after his arrival, especially sought to become acquainted with the hearers entrusted to him, by such home visits. The sick were also particularly visited, and as several epidemics prevailed in Providence and New Hanover, much time, indeed, was required, but not without a blessing also. A great burden, however, is connected herewith for the preachers, as the members of the congregations do not all live together ; but many are scattered here and there, on plantations or fields cultivated by them, in part from twelve to sixteen English, or two to three German, miles from the city ; hence the preachers must always keep a horse, that they may at all times go to their hearers whenever their office requires it, as they, for the most part, have to ride over streams and through morasses and forests. On account of those who are most remote, and cannot always come to church, or carry their children across the streams, they occasionally have divine service during the week in some places nearer to them, that they may also have opportunity to be edified by the word of God. There is also

a small congregation, twenty English miles from New Hanover, which has a church, and is served by pastor Mühlenberg and his assistant, Mr. Kurtz, every four weeks, in which region there are also other out-parishes. As for the rest, they still continue to care for other congregations, not yet provided with preachers, as much as is possible without neglecting their own congregations, whereof there will be opportunity to say more hereafter.

§ 5. As respects the work of the assistants, the arrangement made in the beginning remains, which was noticed in the first continuation, viz: that Mr. Schaum lives in Philadelphia, and Mr. Kurtz in New Hanover. Until their arrival, pastor Mühlenberg had employed a young man as schoolmaster, whom pastor Brunnholtz still retained with him for some weeks, for still better preparation; afterwards to let him go as schoolmaster to other places. Mr. Schaum took possession of this school immediately after his arrival, and now, after pastor Brunnholtz remained in Philadelphia, he lives with him, in the house rented by him, in which he instructs the children under his supervision; who also testifies concerning him,

that besides his faithfulness to the youth, he is also edifying to many by the fervor he manifests in his own Christianity. Moreover, pastor Brunnholtz also began to instruct those adults in reading and writing, who had been neglected.

§ 6. Mr. Viger, of whom mention is several times made in the reports of the Saltzburger in Ebenezer, had the care of the school in the school-house recently built in New Hanover, to the satisfaction of pastor Mühlenberg; and whenever they could not have a sermon, he also read for the congregation. After Mr. Kurtz had taken the school, he at first remained with him yet for some time, but is disposed to take another school again, in some other place, and meanwhile assisted the preachers in the instruction of those who were preparing for their first communion, and otherwise gave a helping hand also. Besides this labor for the youth, both assistants also preach every Sunday in those congregations where the preachers cannot themselves attend the worship of God, and they alternate with them; wherefore they are also called assistants by the congregations, which designation, besides, is not un-

known in Württemberg and in other places along the Rhine, and is equivalent to substitute. As for the rest, both preachers give assurance that they are faithful and diligent in their calling, and that the congregations gave hearty thanks for their election and mission. It was also recognized by pastor Mühlenberg, as a sign of the divine providence, that he found an excellent young person, whom he can employ under his supervision in the instruction of the youth in Providence.

§ 7. As it is not a small favor to the congregations to be provided with faithful preachers, so is this also, that their children are duly taught, as before they must needs grow up without any instruction whatever. The congregations also acknowledge such a doubly great favor, with hearty thanks to God and their patrons and benefactors in Europe, by whom the preachers and assistants were sent to them, and the means provided for their voyage; and learn to esteem them ever more highly, as they more clearly perceive that they mean it well with them, and seek not their own, but their true and eternal salvation, and permitted no trouble or inconvenience herein

to offend them. They, therefore, did not allow their gratitude to be attested by their preachers only, but some of the wardens themselves sent a letter of thanks, of this import; how they heartily thanked, in their name, and in the name of the congregations, the court-preacher Ziegenhagen in London, Dr. Franke in Halle, and all patrons and friends, that in their greatest distress and anxiety they came to their help, and cared for them so faithfully and paternally, that they were not only provided with faithful and honest preachers and laborers in church and school, but also received a contribution for their church and school-building, which was carefully remitted to them. They heartily praised the goodness of God for such benefits, and called upon him, that he, the faithful God, who does not permit a drink of cold water to pass unrecompensed, would reward them richly. They moreover pray that they not only further care for them, but also, in future, help the preachers and assistants where it is needful, with intercession, counsel, and aid; as they stand so much the more in need of this, inasmuch as they, like all faithful teachers of upright intention, must meet

with much opposition, so that their courage fail not, but that they may patiently endure and exercise their office faithfully in the future. The preacher especially, who was degraded in Germany, and mentioned in the first continuation, is one of the most shameless among the slanderers and traducers, and ceases not to sin by all manner of abuse. The preacher noticed in the first short report, who was also dismissed somewhere in Germany, and who, before the arrival of pastor Mühlenberg, intruded in Philadelphia, still indeed takes sides with the former, but is otherwise rather quiet in his congregations. In their places they now have tolerable rest from the Moravians, as there never was much room left for them in the same, but elsewhere they are still active.

§ 8. In the second place, there is somewhat to be said of the effects, and of the blessing of the preached word of God, as the genuine fruit of the office, and the reported tokens and signs thereof; which also is the chief thing, to cheer the Christian teachers, and can awaken to the praise of the name of God, to whom alone all praise therefore is due. In general, the preachers report that they exercised their office in

weakness indeed, and many obstacles and prevailing disorders cannot be so soon and at once removed; therefore, they seek to continue and to persevere the more earnestly and unweariedly with the preaching of the word; nevertheless, they can already really perceive some fruit also, especially since the one never extols the blessing which God grants to the labor of the other. Among other things, after he had given thanks for the election and mission of Mr. Brunnholtz, pastor Mühlenberg writes, November 1st, 1745: "He accommodates himself well to the circumstances of this country. He takes care of himself, of his doctrine, and of the poor sheep. The grace of God is mighty in him, in his weakness. By it he is able to contend and suffer, and pass through honor and dishonor, through evil and good report, etc. The Lord also gives him an open door, and crowns his office with blessing, which is to me a great joy; and I hope, that if in patience we still persevere in the preaching of the word, all things will in time be brought into good order by the help of God." He gives similar assurance in several letters. Pastor Brunnholtz testifies the same of the office

of pastor Mühlenberg, whereof the blessing was not only manifest before his arrival, but is also ever more revealed to him, in his special intercourse with souls, when many confess that they were awakened by his sermons. On December the 9th, 1745, he writes to a good friend of the blessing generally : "As respects the building up of the kingdom of God in this place, you may have seen occasionally, by the reports sent, which are likely communicated to you, how it progresses, in much weakness indeed, but still with some fruit. We would not extol our affairs so much as others are accustomed to do, who of three or four half-converted persons (still God knows them), make up a congregation of the Spirit, worthy of admiration. I have a real loathing for such boasting, because at the foundation there is a corrupt motive." In an account transmitted, in which he reports his and his colleagues' exercise of office, during the first half of the year 1745, he mentions many whom he either visited in their homes, or was visited by them, in whom he found something good, and a soul longing for salvation with whom he could have an edifying conversation concerning Christian-



ity, and in part notice that they were not inexperienced therein, or had already also laid a good foundation, so that he was heartily delighted.

§ 9. But besides these of which only a brief notice is taken, more particulars are mentioned of others—to use his own words: “On the 23d of January, 1745, I baptized a child in church, whose parents are Reformed and came over the sea with me, etc. The mother was powerfully affected by the word preached on the ship to the German families on board from Switzerland, to which she also belonged, and has made a good beginning in true repentance. On the ship, I held a daily prayer-meeting with these Swiss, and also noticed in some of them powerful workings of grace. In the evening of the 30th of January, I, together with my colleague, rode to a mill to visit a very sick woman. I heartily rejoiced over the composure of this sick person, and her love declared of the Lord Jesus. It is as balm on my head, when here and there I find an upright soul. On the 15th of February I visited a Reformed woman, who is truly penitent, and a negress or black slave entered, who testified to have a desire for the

Christian religion and true knowledge, with whom I conversed somewhat in the English language, for her further encouragement. On the 26th of February, a man visited me, who complained that he indeed was often affected by the preaching of my colleague, but still as yet never made a right beginning of a true Christian life. He knew well, that he must begin over again, and so he is now resolved to do. I conversed with him of the true change of mind, and of the new birth, and sought to strengthen him in his good purpose. On the 22d of March, a woman belonging to the congregation was with me alone, who hitherto came to the evening meeting, in which I instructed the adults in reading and writing, and revealed to me her anxiety and disquietude of soul, on account of certain sins committed in Germany. I sought to lead her into a true penitence of heart. She said that she would willingly consent that I should publish it to the whole congregation, if she should thereby be delivered from her anguish. Whereupon I explained to her, that this was unnecessary here. As no one in our congregation knows anything of it, it was not advisable, first, to

make known the sins, by such a public notice, which also of itself would not give her conscience peace. She must especially heartily call upon God, and pray for a right knowledge of sin, and for light, to understand the whole abomination of the heart; and then come to Christ as weary and heavy laden, so will she find rest for her soul. On the 3d of April, the woman was with me again, and I rejoiced that the Lord, by all appearance, had led her into true penitence."

§ 10. At another time, under date of June 11th, mention is made of two married people, who were indeed baptized in their youth, but never held to a church, and remained without any instruction in the Christian religion until pastor Mühlenberg had come into the country, whose preaching they diligently attended, and were awakened by the same to a true longing desire for salvation. Pastor Brunnholtz yet particularly instructed them, and prepared them to partake of the holy Supper. The utility of conducting their office faithfully also manifests itself herein, that as pastor Brunnholtz writes, April 22d, 1746: "The churchly Lutherans (as they are called by other parties), are now

again, as it were, respected by them, whereas they, at another time, had become wholly despicable with them, through the scandal of carnally-minded preachers, who in part thrust themselves into the office, without a regular call." He continues: "Oh! that we might shine only as lights among our people, and that their darkness might become light! If among our hearers, more would still be awakened to walk as children of the light, in the light, so would also such offense given to others, more and more fall away."

§ 11. Various examples are also presented of such who grew up without receiving holy baptism, and either held to other parties hitherto, or lived wholly without religious exercise in the community, and who, after instruction, received the Sacrament of holy Baptism, in part with their children, whereof pastor Brunnholtz, in the aforesaid writing, reports the following: "On the 28th of February, my colleague arrived in Philadelphia from Providence, and related to me that he had baptized a father and four children in the country. The man had been already for a long time convinced of the necessity of baptism, but could not so

soon conquer himself and actually resolve upon its reception. In the meanwhile, he diligently heard the word of God, until at length God gave him grace to break through every obstacle. On the 24th of March, my colleague baptized two daughters of Mennonite parentage, who are soon also to partake of the holy Supper. Early on the 31st of March, I rode to Germantown, preached and baptized several children. After the sermon a man came to me who has five grown-up children, who are still unbaptized, and requested me to baptize them and prepare them for it, whereof there was something, yet only preliminary, mentioned in the first continuation. I rode with him to his plantation, or cultivated estate, about five English or one German mile from the church, conversed with the children themselves, and promised to instruct them in the necessary articles. The man is already in the country seventeen years, and has otherwise an excellent knowledge of Christianity, and is also provided with good books. It may be inferred herefrom, into what a ruin these Christian congregations would in time have fallen, if they had not been supplied with regular teachers, when parents,

even of good knowledge, permitted their children to grow up without baptism. It is easy, therefore, to draw a conclusion from such, with reference to ignorant people, and have the more reason to praise God, that he let his light arise, yet in due time, as it were, in the midst of darkness. As respects the five adult children already mentioned, the three older, after having received sufficient instruction in Christianity, were baptized on the 9th of June, 1745, on Trinity Sunday; but the two younger a few weeks afterwards, before the public congregation. A married woman also, together with her two brothers, after enjoying instruction in the fundamental truths of Christianity, received holy Baptism on the 16th of June, in Providence, not without being affected themselves, as also the whole congregation. Otherwise they live in Matetscha, four English miles from Providence, and are reckoned to that congregation."

§ 12. But as this account only extends to the beginning of July, 1745, so we have no sufficient intelligence of that which transpired in the other half of the year, except that which was yet to be seen from several letters of pas-

tor Brunnholtz, from which the following double extract will not be unacceptable. The first is from a letter to a good friend in Tönningen, in which, among other things, it is said : "When I have a funeral, which is always accompanied with a sermon, I often have hearers of all kinds of religions and sects that are in the world ; for all the neighbors round about are invited to attend the funeral. There I am often able to speak an edifying word, and many sects then hear, that we insist on a true Christianity ; whereof they are accustomed to believe the opposite, as they imagine that the church people (so they call those who go to church) place their salvation in church-going. I recently buried several children in Germantown, and the funeral exhortations delivered on the occasion so pleased a separatist, that when a child died for him soon after, he desired me to bury it with a sermon also. When I arrived, it was found that the child was unbaptized, and therefore I at first refused to do it ; when, however, I became acquainted with the man's disposition of mind, I buried it, and afterwards baptized four little children for him, in the presence of all kinds of people, who did

not remain unmoved, when they saw how willingly the children kneeled and suffered themselves to be baptized, after they had themselves answered my short questions, according to their comprehension and understanding." The second extract is from a letter to his family, whereof this is especially worthy of note. "Since my arrival, we have baptized many adults here and there. On Sunday after Michaelis, the church in Providence was solemnly consecrated, on which occasion, besides ourselves, there were two other Lutheran preachers and many hundred souls present. We baptized on that day three blackamoors, who were publicly examined." It is however, to be regretted, that of these especially, no fuller report can as yet be given, inasmuch as it is one of the most remarkable circumstances, that the merciful God also let his light arise on these, who were born as heathen, and brought up as Moors, and gave them grace unto repentance."

§ 13. In the third place, a short account of the building of churches is yet to be given. The consecration of the church in Providence was briefly noticed in the extract just cited. Elsewhere pastor Brunnholtz mentioned the



following, concerning the same: "The new church at Providence proved a great success. It is entirely finished, except that something is yet to be done to the galleries. It is built of stone, and therefore proportionally not near so expensive as the church in Philadelphia, as nothing can be had there except bricks, which are exceedingly dear, especially as several hundred houses are built in Philadelphia every year." As it was elsewhere said, that they would not consecrate it until everything was finished, it is presumable, that that which was at the time yet to be done in it to the galleries, was completed before said dedication, although this is not specially reported. In the church in Philadelphia, however, the windows are yet to be made, and otherwise various things to be done. Therefore, in the worship of God especially, the wind penetrating the windows in cold weather, occasions much inconvenience. But the congregation has not as yet been in a condition to finish altogether that which was wanting, inasmuch as the load of debt is still too heavy for them. As for the rest, in the most recent letter of pastor Brunnholtz, of April

22d, 1746, the following exact account is given of that which they have yet to pay: "On the 14th of March, the wardens presented to my colleague and myself their church account, in Philadelphia. After the church had received 150 pounds of our current money, it is found, that its indebtedness is still 694 pounds of said money (about 2540 Rix dollars), for which we annually pay near 42 pounds (or 154 Rix dollars) interest. The church as it stands, without windows, floor, pews, pulpit, and the like, that must yet be made, costs 1310 £. 17s. 9¾d. current money (about 4800 Rix dollars). Of this there was paid 616 £. 4s. 9d., so the above still remains in arrears. May the benevolent God yet help us so far, that we may at least be able to pay the debts within about 400 pounds which would amount to about 24 pounds (or nearly 90 Rix dollars) yearly interest, which the congregation would have to pay, until the whold debt could be liquidated. We also need an ordinary bell, but must have patience, until God gives us the means to pay for it, so that we do not venture so far that we cannot retrace our steps. The congregation in Philadelphia is one of the largest, but also one of the poorest,

and as respects the membership, changes often, inasmuch as the fewest of them are regular inhabitants and settled people. When the Germans arrive here from the ships, those who cannot pay their passage must as it were sell themselves, together with their families ; when they must serve until they have paid for their passage by labor. Such are called servants. When they have paid for their passage, and earned something besides, they gradually move up into the country and purchase homes for themselves. Nevertheless, the rich God will not forsake us in our church-building, but will help us abundantly. May he only grant that Zion be built up within, and may he arise and have mercy on it ! How much the church at Providence cost, and how much the remaining debt, I cannot now exactly tell, as my colleague serves the congregations there, and who will himself soon transmit a regular account thereof. He cannot now write with me, because up in the country he can have no information of the departure of the ship. This much I however know, that they have received their share of the common collection money." The greatest necessity also required that the

church in Germantown be enlarged, which pastor Brunnholtz not only mentioned several times before, and indicated such necessity, but also wrote the following in his last letter, of the actual beginning of the enlargement: "On April the 15th, of this year, we, in the name of God, laid the foundation stone in Germantown, of the new building of the Lutheran church. It will be 30 feet longer and 6 feet wider than it had been. The estimate is about 160 pounds of our money (568 Rix dollars.) Sixty pounds thereto were subscribed or promised by members of the congregation and by friends, the rest we must take on interest. Six years ago there were scarcely six members of the congregation there, and the church was too large; but now there are about seventy regular families."

§ 14. As the building of churches was of the highest necessity, the preachers and wardens of the congregation commenced the same at first, as well in Philadelphia and Providence as now also in Germantown, in reliance upon God—that although they saw no sufficient means at hand, he would nevertheless graciously provide them. They also extol his

name, that he has already richly manifested his gracious providence, so that nearly half of the expense of the church building in Philadelphia may be paid, as a larger share of the favors received of the congregation of that place, were applied thereto, because the expenses were the greater. In the meanwhile, they say that, nevertheless, the debts yet to be paid exceed their present ability, and if some help, at least, does not yet come, they are unable to carry them. Not to mention other passages from his letters, under date of November 1st, 1745, pastor Mühlenberg, among other things, writes: "A great request, which seemed almost impossible to man, the Lord has fulfilled, by sending fellow-laborers to me. The other burden, which still weighs very heavily upon us, are the debts of church-building, which we are unable to pay, for which, however, the patrons in Europe have already done much, and are still doing." But they also have this reliance upon the goodness of God, that he will still communicate some favors to them, and not permit them to come to shame in their hope, but as he has helped hitherto, he will still help, that his name may be praised therefor, and the bless-

ing which has newly arisen, be retained and promoted.

§ 15. We have besides just reason to praise God, that he not only graciously had mercy on this forsaken and scattered flock in the four united congregations, and gave them shepherds, who gather them again, seek the lost, restore the wandering, minister to and care for the sick, and can feed the perishing sheep with the saving word of the gospel, which they have also done hitherto, according to the ability which the Lord has given, and therein richly experienced the blessing of God. Thus it also conduces to the acceptance of the Evangelical church, that by these means the pure doctrine is preserved in these congregations. Since, on the contrary, it was to be feared, that otherwise not only more would continually rather have separated themselves from the communion of the church, than to have held to those, who imposed themselves as preachers, occasioned in part great scandal by their irregular life, and brought a great reproach upon Evangelical religion with others. But it might have been that as the youth would have grown up without any instruction, or even without receiving

holy Baptism, nothing else would have resulted therefrom than this, that the light of the pure doctrine would have been wholly extinguished in their descendants. Yea, the blessing of providing for the four above-said congregations is not to them alone, but it seems also to be the gracious will of God to extend the same still more, and also to place his word on the candlestick in other congregations and in other regions, to prevent the prevailing darkness in them also, as among other things appears from that which follows.

§ 16. There is in the fourth place something to be added concerning the desire of several German congregations in Pennsylvania and the surrounding regions for true teachers. After it became still more known by others, how faithfully pastor Mühlenberg, and afterwards pastor Brunnholtz also, hitherto sought to care for their office and for the congregations entrusted to them, it produced a desire in many, that they might indeed also enjoy the preaching of the word of God. Several, who for the most part on account of their poverty were unable to support a preacher of their own, have urged them with much entreaty to visit

them occasionally and preach for them, whose request also they could not wholly refuse, although overburdened with work in their own congregations, but sought to serve them, as much as possible, without neglecting these. Among such congregations, among others, are that at Oley, Cohansey, Chester, and on the Schwartzwalde. At Oley, before the arrival of the new assistants, pastor Muhlenberg had already baptized four grown children at the request of their mother, who has a heart hungering after grace, whereat, indeed, the father was at first displeased, but afterwards was satisfied, and gave them liberty to go to church and to school, and also visited the preachers himself, and conversed with them in a friendly manner. They preached there on several occasions, as well as at Cohansey, and noticed that the people were considerably affected. The last-mentioned place lies thirty-six English, or about six German miles from Philadelphia. The before-mentioned young man, who had taught school in Philadelphia, and to whom pastor Brunnholtz yet, for a time, gave further preparation, was assigned to the congregation there, as schoolmaster, and an edifying postil



given him, to read therefrom a sermon for them on Sundays, as was also already noticed in the first continuation. Concerning a sermon delivered at Chester, pastor Brunnholtz reports the following in his diary: "On the 25th of March, 1745, a man was with me, and desired that I should come to Chester and preach to the Germans there; that the English preacher had promised to open the church for them, in case they should secure a regularly called minister to preach for them. On the 30th of June, after service, I, together with a good friend and several elders of the congregation in Philadelphia, drove to that place. This village is sixteen English, or about three German miles from Philadelphia. We arrived at two o'clock, in the heat of the day. The Germans, who for the most part are servants, and serve with the English, and therefore speak half German and half English, were assembled, and the English preacher permitted them to hold their worship of God in the English church. During the sermon many English people were present. Afterwards I had all the Germans to meet at a German's house, and admonished them to come together

on Sundays, and to have a sermon read for them by one of their number who could read best, for which I also promised them a collection of sermons. They stood around about me like children, or as sheep perishing, that are without a shepherd, and wept, which affected the people who came with me from Philadelphia very much, as those who now no longer have such a destitution in the preaching of the word of God. In Germany, where they can hear one, two or three sermons every Sunday, the fewest value it; but here many rejoice if they hear a sermon once in a year. Those in Chester did not hear a German Evangelical sermon in six years. The German Lutherans in Schartzwalde, a place between Tulpehocken and New-Hanover, have built a new church in union with the Reformed, and indeed accepted one as their preacher, who had been a school-master in Germany; still, they were much delighted when pastors Mühlberg and Brunnholtz, on their return from a journey to Tulpehocken, passed through that place, and the latter, at their request, preached for them. These few things are cited as an example, how such congregations, which for the most part

have no preachers of their own, but of which there may yet be more, participate in some measure in the favor which God has granted to others.

§ 17. But different other congregations, which either had not been supplied with regular preachers, or whose preachers had left, have through pastors Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, urgently petitioned for several faithful teachers, whom they also promised to support. In a town somewhat more than a day's journey from New Hanover, the Lutheran congregation delivered to pastor Mühlenberg (who at their desire had visited them several times, and also prepared some young people for their first communion in that place), a formal letter of attorney, as a call for a new preacher, and besought him, until his arrival, to care for them as much as possible ; and he says, that a faithful servant of Christ could there have a wide field for labor, as many Germans live far and near around that region. Another congregation in the province of New Jersey, had requested that their assistant, Mr. Kurtz, might be assigned to them for a time, and in the meanwhile also a preacher be written for, for

them. In consequence hereof, Mr. Kurtz was on the 18th of March, 1746, sent to them for a season, in whose absence the young man mentioned before, whom pastor Mühlenberg otherwise made use of to keep school in Providence, has the oversight of the school in New Hanover under the supervision of Mr. Viger. At the desire of said congregation, pastor Mühlenberg also not only visited them several times during last year, and instructed twenty-four adults, and prepared them to partake of the holy Supper, but also twice during the present year; and pastor Brunnholtz, according to his last letter, also intended to go there once this summer. The German Lutherans, at the Maquaischen River, in the province of New York, have also solicited them for a preacher, to whom, however, they as yet promise nothing with certainty. In the meanwhile, in all letters they most earnestly entreat us, at the desire of the congregations and in their name, to select two capable men, to call and send them, for their preachers. But it depends upon the Lord himself, and his gracious government and aid, to show the persons suitable thereto, and to remove the obstacles; among which one

of the greatest is this, that the congregations are as yet unable to pay the expenses of the voyage, but ask that the same might be advanced from the benefits received for Philadelphia, Providence, and places belonging thereto, to which they would again restore the same, to pay their debts for the building of churches; for which, however, since the benefits which were sent to them until now, only a small portion has arrived, so that no advance can be taken from it for such a voyage.

§ 18. But God, who can do exceedingly more above all than we ask or understand, is abundantly able also to remove these and other hindrances, and also will in his time, and make known thereby, that he rules all circumstances for the advancement of this thing, and shows the means and the way thereby. In the meantime, it is our duty humbly to praise his name for that which he has already done, and present before him the need of the congregations yet unprovided, in fervent and believing prayer, and call upon him, that he also will let his kingdom come unto these, and grant them the opportunity to hear his word, and learn from it the way how they

may come to him through Christ, and save their souls from everlasting destruction—which call may he graciously hear for his eternal mercy's sake, according to which he has no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he may repent and live. But to those congregations which now have opportunity to hear God's word preached abundantly, may he grant obedient hearts to accept it, and to their teachers more and more power and grace, still to publish to them the counsel of God for their salvation, unwearily and in rich blessing. Finally, may he also, through grace, repay such kindness to all patrons and benefactors, who hitherto came to help of these congregations with their loving gifts, and the same be to him as a sweet savor and an acceptable offering, and again, fill all their wants, according to his riches, in the glory in Christ Jesus. But to God and our Father be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

## CHAPTER IV.

THIRD CONTINUATION OF THE REPORT OF SEVERAL EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS IN AMERICA, ESPECIALLY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

1. *Report of the circumstances generally, which hitherto transpired in these congregations.*

The works of God have little show before the world. They are wont to have small beginnings, and to advance under much pressure and diverse trials. God, for the most part, employs small, and in the eyes of the world despised instruments; but which in his and in the eyes of his children, are esteemed glorious. Outwardly, these create no great surprise nor pomp. Besides, the world regards nothing less, than that which God does in his kingdom of grace, so that in this respect also, the word of the Lord Jesus is being fulfilled: *The kingdom of God cometh not with observation*, Luke xvii. 20. Nevertheless, the work of God, and whatever his servants begin in true faith, for

the spreading abroad and the glorification of his name, does, as long as it pleases him to give his blessing thereto, grow and increase, and therein, according to Matt. xiii. 31, 32, *is like a grain of mustard seed, which is the least of all seeds* ; but from which a great tree grows. Yet the works of the Lord, even in their first, and as yet low beginning, deserve more attention, and are more important, than all the deeds of man ; inasmuch as one soul saved from everlasting destruction, is of much more value than the whole world and all its treasures. As little therefore as those who permit no earnest care for their own souls' salvation to arise within them, concern themselves about that which God does for the salvation of the souls of others, so heartily, on the contrary, the children of God, whom God has chosen out of the world, rejoice when they hear that elsewhere also, in the distance, yea even in other parts of the world, God shows many souls the same mercy which they experienced in themselves, or when he only begins to extend his kingdom in other places, and to permit the lost sheep to be sought ; and from the heart they praise his name also, for the least blessing



§ 2. That which God has hitherto done among several Lutheran congregations of the new German settlers in Pennsylvania, is a blessing which is as yet like a small grain of mustard seed, and first began to bloom eight years ago, when pastor Mühlenberg, of Halle, was first sent to said congregations, and after he arrived in Philadelphia on the 25th of November, 1742, and found a blessed entrance there, with the word of God. In the year 1744, the second preacher, Mr. Brunnholtz, besides two assistants, Messrs. Schaum and Kurtz, were sent after him, and arrived in Pennsylvania in the beginning of the year 1745. The difficulties which they at first encountered in these congregations, but how God very powerfully aided them to overcome these, and to set the worship of God in good order again, also for this object to erect two churches in a short time in Philadelphia and New Providence, with large expense and small means; and how the Lord especially powerfully blessed their office to many souls—all this, with more, is to be seen from that which was already published in the year 1744, and in the short report reprinted this year, besides the two continuations of it, whereof the last was printed in 1746.

§ 3. Now, after many inquiries have hitherto been made, and a desire manifested by many, that something might be made known of the further progress of this blessing in the congregations in Pennsylvania, it certainly was reasonable (as many dear patrons and benefactors in the kindest manner sent in their generous contributions, for the advancement of this blessing), that by this notice an account, as it were, be given them, how their benefactions<sup>s</sup> were applied, and what was hitherto accomplished. That this could not be done sooner, was chiefly occasioned by the loss of the principal and most circumstantial letters of the preachers, which were in part on the ships taken by the Spaniards and the French, and in part also on vessels wrecked in storm. The other letters which arrived, contained no sufficient account of the condition of things there, which would be satisfactory to the Christian reader. Although some letters are still back, and especially a full account from pastor Brunnholtz of his official transactions hitherto, which was also lost, and could not as yet be re-written and sent by him, on account of frequent sickness, and want of time and

strength; yet were we unwilling to delay longer, in making known the most important circumstances noticed in the letters received, and whatever transpired hitherto in relation to these congregations. Such intelligence, however, will only be briefly given at this time. The greater part of it will be further explained and confirmed in the fuller reports which will be communicated in the following continuations. In the next continuation especially, which with the help of God is to be published yet this autumn, the beginning of an edifying report from pastor Mühlenberg of his official transactions in these congregations is to be brought to light; and this, besides other letters and intelligence, be gradually fully made known, in the following continuations, for the edification of the Christian reader.

§ 4. In this first section, then, intelligence is to be communicated of the circumstances generally, which have transpired, of which the first and most important is, that again a new preacher was called and sent to Pennsylvania. It is known from the second continuation, that it was then already mentioned, how the preachers, as several congregations applied to them for

teachers, in all their letters most urgently entreated, that two capable men be most speedily called as preachers, and sent to Pennsylvania. Now, after this desire was still more pressingly repeated in the letters following, Dr. and Prof. Franke also, from that time, earnestly exerted himself to fulfill the same.

§ 5. Mr. John Frederick Handschuch, from Halle, who had hitherto labored as collaborator at Graba in Salfeld, was for some time already known to him, as a man who was as little deficient in solid studies, and the capacity required for the preacher's office, as in genuine faithfulness, and who also had already attained to much experience and exercise in his office. Thus he did not hesitate to permit the call, in the name of the preachers and of the congregations in Pennsylvania, to come to him. After examining and having recognized the will of God, he accepted the same, already in July, 1746, after God had before prepared his heart for such a resolve, and released it from attachment to earthly things. As he expressed it himself, since the great change of his heart, that he had given himself wholly and without any reserve to his, with respect to himself, so

highly meritorious, good and gracious Lord, to let himself be used in his kingdom, and sent as and whither it may seem good to him, and desired nothing more, than only to become right obedient and very useful to him, and be able to spread abroad his glory and his kingdom; and also that he would gladly, according to his gracious will, venture upon it body and life, goods and blood, every advantage and honor of this temporal life, for the sake of highly honoring his Lord and God, to acknowledge him honestly before the world; and also, for the sake of one soul, to save it, to undertake ever so much. He continues: the fatigue of the voyage, with his bodily infirmities, at first indeed gave him some concern; but after he had given himself to God in prayer, he was enabled to say to his heart: What then have you to say to it, if now your Lord would have you go there? And as it ever and always was his manner, for the most part, to employ in his kingdom the most miserable, the weakest and the most despised, he was assured, if God sent him to America there to help build up his kingdom of grace, then he also will and must give power and strength suf-

ficient, as he acknowledges himself unfit and unworthy.

§ 6. As it was the intention to send two new fellow-laborers, according to the above-mentioned desire of the Pennsylvania congregations and their preachers, it was thought best, that pastor Handschuch should tarry over winter at Halle, during which time they would use all possible diligence to discover yet another suitable instrument, who in the following spring could enter upon the voyage with him, to Pennsylvania. Some not unsuitable candidates were indeed also proposed, and the call actually extended to one now, and then again to another. But everywhere, partly from the relatives and partly from the persons themselves who were proposed, so many hindrances occurred, that the divine will could not be recognized in that matter;—since, in the works of God, nothing can be forced, and all the experienced servants of God are wont to observe the signs of the divine government and providence, that they may follow them, so far as they are able to recognize them, but where these are lost, stand still, and wait for the Lord by the direction of circumstances,

further to reveal his will to them, and thus permit themselves to be guided by his eyes, and the hints he gives to them. Thus it was considered as more advisable, since it did not please God to point out the other preacher, to rest in his will, and in the meanwhile send pastor Handschuch alone. Perhaps the congregation over which such another preacher might have been placed, had not as yet earnestly enough called upon God for a faithful teacher, or had not as yet become sufficiently eager for the word of God. However, God will in his time find for himself some faithful assistants, and send them out into this most extensive vineyard, in which the harvest is great, but the laborers still few. But how, in the meanwhile, those congregations which stood in the most need were cared for, will with more appear from that which follows.

§ 7. In the meanwhile June had arrived, and the departure of pastor Handschuch dared no longer be delayed. He therefore left, in the name of God, on the second of said month, to go to England by way of Hamburg, and safely arrived in London on the 4th of July, and remained there about six weeks, and embarked

on the 25th of September at Gravesend, and reached Philadelphia only on the 5th of April, 1748. As he experienced many things on this long voyage, and many remarkable circumstances are found among those which he recorded from day to day, it will not be amiss to the kind reader if in the next section of this continuation we add a brief extract from his diurnal register.

§ 8. After the arrival of pastor Handschuch in Pennsylvania, and the accustomed mature consideration, it was resolved that he should undertake the care of the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster, which also accepted him as their preacher on the 16th of May, 1748, whereupon he preached his introductory sermon there on the 26th of said month, which appears below among other things, from his own diary, where at the same time an account is given of the congregation at Earlstown, which on certain conditions was united with the congregation in Lancaster as a second church. But in relation to Lancaster itself, pastor Handschuch describes this town in the following letter, of the 7th of October, 1748. He writes: "According to the gracious will of



God and the judgment of my dear brethren, I am already in Lancaster over four months, a town of about four hundred houses, to which more are still added. It is 64 English (16 German) miles from Philadelphia, and is chiefly inhabited by Germans. On account of the good means of living, people still move to this place, so that it may likely in a few years become a large and populous town. It contains one tolerably large Lutheran, one not as yet wholly finished English, one Reformed, one small Catholic, and one Zinzendorf church. Through parson Nyberg, who had been a Lutheran, the Zinzendorfers occasioned many divisions and offences, not only among the Lutherans, but also among the Reformed. Since I am here, Mr. Spangenberg was in this place perhaps four times; and as I hear, he exerts all his cunning and industry to keep his people together, and to make our church suspected by them."

§ 9. Thereupon Mr. Handschuch continues in said letter, to give the following account of his labors also: "I have work enough in this place. I make a sketch of every sermon, meditate on it thoroughly, and prove it accord-

ing to the word of God, as much as time permits. Then I speak in the name of the Lord, and care for no man, whatever religion or sect he may be. My hearers often consist of diverse sects, never as yet heard of. Of a real blessing, I cannot as yet boast much, unless outward approbation could be called a blessing. The youth, so very numerous, give me the most joy and hope. Every Sunday afternoon I have a repetition of the sermon, and catechetical instruction. I then mostly have from seventy to eighty young people, adults and children, standing around me, who intentionally seek to anticipate each other. The rest, who do not belong to our congregation, remain sitting in their places, and listen attentively. Our school is ever increasing, so that we were recently necessitated to dismiss sixteen English children, for want of room. In truth, if Nyberg had not occasioned the disturbances and divisions here, and if our people were more, and more earnestly concerned for the building up of the kingdom of God, the congregation in Lancaster should gradually have become the strongest, and by an abundant and faithful preaching of the word of God, and with the

divine aid, the most blessed, in the whole land. But the injury done by him is nigh irreparable. I neglect no opportunity to preach publicly. Marriages and funerals I also take, to help as much as possible. To God's mercy I would hope, it may not pass wholly empty and without a blessing. I instruct the young people twice every week, who are being prepared for the holy Supper, of whom there are thirty-three; and some among them are very ignorant, and several have to go perhaps nine English miles to my house. It is seldom that one fails. For my dear brethren in office, Messrs. Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz (he adds in conclusion), I cannot sufficiently thank God. Only I am very sorry that we live so far from each other, and can so seldom be together. However, our diligent exchange of letters compensates for this, in some measure. Next week Mr. Mühlenberg goes to Tulpehocken, whither I go also, that we may confer with each other. The Lord permit all to conduce to the glory of his name, and to the solid building up of his kingdom of grace, in this land, for the sake of his goodness and truth!"

§.10. Of the dissensions and divisions men-

tioned in the foregoing letter, which were occasioned by the preacher Nyberg in Lancaster, the circumstances most clearly and particularly appear from the following narration of pastor Mühlenberg, which is taken from the transmitted continuation of the year 1747. He writes : “ On the evening of the 28th of June, I was here in York, invited as a guest by the justice of the peace, who was Reformed and was a particular friend of a preacher at that time, as yet inclined to the Herrnhuter. He had also invited several of his relations, who were wardens here, and had been captivated by Mr. Nyberg. I suspected that the conversation would be directed to Mr. Nyberg and the Herrnhuter, and therefore permitted a few of the wardens of the congregations to be present, that I might have witnesses, and so that my words could not be perverted. They then asked me, after some other conversation, how it happened that we could not harmonize with Mr. Nyberg. As those present, and the justice of the peace himself also, desired a candid answer, I said that I would so relate the whole course with Mr. Nyberg, as I could prove the same before God, the government, and the whole church, from documents in hand.

§ II. "My narrative therefore was this: The present split congregation at Lancaster, was several years ago a large and numerous congregation. They desired a genuine Lutheran preacher, and on that account petitioned to his Reverence, the Archbishop of Sweden, by a Swedish merchant in Philadelphia, and requested a teacher according to the holy Scripture, the Augsburg Confession, and the other symbolical books. The congregation collected the money for traveling, sent it beforehand, and patiently awaited the arrival of a preacher. Mr. Nyberg, according to his own declaration, desired at first to learn engineering, but afterwards chanced upon theology, upon which, however, he could bestow but little time, because he came to it late. According to the assertions of some persons, known by name, he, when he had finished his academical years, had been preceptor with a certain Count in Sweden, and was finally recommended to the Consistory by his principal, when he discovered, that there was a call with the Consistory from Pennsylvania. Mr. Nyberg then himself sought this call, through the intercession of his principal, after he had before ob-

tained intelligence of the Zinzendorfer denomination, through a certain one called Gradin, and was delighted with their plans. As he now knew that Count Zinzendorf sought to establish his cause in Pennsylvania, he thought to get into the proper element, by means of the call to that place. In the examination, he assumed to be a genuine Lutheran, and did not hesitate to swear to the Symbolical books, although in heart he had accepted the Zinzendorfer plans.

§ 12. "Thereupon, this Mr. Nyberg went from Sweden to London. In London he first sought for Mr. Spangenberg, and the Moravian brethren, and was received into their community. Mr. Spangenberg, however, who was just on the point of going to Pennsylvania also, did not think it advisable to depart with him on the same ship, but they set out each alone, on different vessels; and as the one arrived in Pennsylvania unknown to the other, the Pennsylvanians would be without suspicion, and receive him as an orthodox Lutheran preacher. They both related this to Mr. Conrad Weiser in Tulpehocken, and boasted of it as a special cleverness. The Swedish preacher, Mr. M.

Nyberg, had come into the country some time sooner, and had related to me and to Mr. Koch somewhat of Mr. Nyberg's attachment to the Herrnhuter. When afterwards he had come into the country himself, he was asked by Mr. Koch and myself, whether he was acquainted with Count Zinzendorf, his doctrine and his plans? He wholly denied everything, saying that he knew no one but Mr. Gradin in Sweden.

§ 13. "The congregation in Lancaster received him as an angel of God, and accepted him as their preacher, but with the condition that he show himself such an one as they had written for, and continue in the pure Lutheran doctrine. O, had the man been impartial in respect to the Moravian sect, and a converted faithful steward, according to the Lutheran doctrine, and had cultivated the field pointed out to him with faithfulness and patience, he would have gathered a great harvest for the Lord Jesus into his barn! When, however, he had once entered into the plan of the Zinzendorfer, his preaching, catechising, and his intercourse with the members of the congregation, was nothing else than a constant pulling down of the Lutheran doctrine, and a building

up of his accepted Zinzendorfer schemes. He ridiculed the main doctrines of the law, of repentance, faith, holiness, prayer and combat, etc. He mutilated the holy doctrine of Christ Jesus, of his person, nature, offices and states, and excused himself with a denial, when asked concerning his communion with the Herrnhuter. Yet he carried on a secret correspondence with them, visited their meetings and conferences, and from the pulpit denounced those as liars, who said that he had intercourse with the Zinzendorfer. He flattered those over measure, who were inclined to bow their heads to his designs. He represented me, my brethren and officials, to his congregation, and also on occasion in part to our own members, as most dangerous people. Finally he took a Herrnhuter sister to wife. As he now thought of closing his net, a large conference of Zinzendorfer from Bethlehem was arranged for, in Lancaster, by means of a private correspondence. This was at Advent, 1745. He appointed the quarters for the numerous brethren who were coming, obtained the key of the town-house, visited the conference; his members, whom he had won over, he led along into it, and laughed at the



other wardens, who warned and entreated him, that he should not go into the conference.

§ 14. "Now, when the remaining wardens and members of the congregation, who protested against him, saw that he publicly turned to the Herrnhuter party, they refused the church to him on the following Sunday, and guarded it. He came, however, with his adherents, took the church by force, and preached to his people with locked doors. The protesting party thereupon twice petitioned the Governor, who ordered the church to be locked. But he with his followers went to the Governor, and took recommendations along with him, from several creditable English gentlemen, and said to the Governor that he was a genuine, pure Lutheran, sent by the Archbishop, and not a Moravian brother, and that his opponents were restless and rebellious people. Now the English government, indeed, can decide no religious questions, and has only to care for the political peace. The Governor, however, gave him this advice, that he should have the matter in dispute investigated by other German and Swedish preachers in this country. He answered that no one could inquire into his case except the

Archbishop of Sweden (because he was at the greatest distance). The Governor looked at the recommendations of the English gentlemen, and directed that they should again open the church for him. When the protesting party likewise inquired, how they were to conduct themselves, the Governor referred them to a formal suit at law, which however, is here wont to be very tedious and expensive.

§ 15. "Mr. Nyberg thereupon preached to his adherents each Sunday forenoon, and the protesting party went to church in the afternoon, and read a sermon from a book. And thus matters continued for a time. At length the latter also for once desired to have divine service in the forenoon, on a festival-day. But when Mr. Nyberg and his people were unwilling to grant this, and answered, they must be satisfied that they can have church in the afternoon, they were thereby very much provoked, and again locked and nailed the church on every side, and prevented Mr. Nyberg from entering. This so violently offended the Zinzendorfer, that they accused eight of the most prominent men of the protesting party to the authorities, as common disturbers of the peace,

and cited them to appear at the next great court-day. In the meanwhile the church had to remain locked until the judicial decision. The court-day drew near. The Nyberg party thought they would certainly win, and obtain the church, and the others return again, submit to their plan, and ask pardon. We received an account of everything, and were unceasingly entreated to be present on court-day, and assist the forsaken protesting party, according to our ability. I and my colleague, Brunnholtz, traveled to that place, preached twice for the protesting party on Sunday before, in a private house. When the matter in dispute came up, Mr. Nyberg and many others of his party swore against the eight men, and earnestly desired to have them convicted of a breach of the peace, according to the laws of this country. Before the suit began, we made every possible proposal, for the peace and union of the two parties. With the Zinzendorfer, however, it was all in vain. They employed the two keenest lawyers, and gave them money enough. The other party had a lawyer less experienced. But the judicial decision unexpectedly resulted in the declaration that the eight men were innocent.

§ 16. "Now matters remained as they were, because it was not decided which party should have the church, and therefore the church still remained locked. The Zinzendorfer maintained that they were the Lutherans; the others, on the contrary said that they were the Lutherans; and the authorities could not well decide such a case according to the English laws. On that account Mr. Conrad Weiser and another Judge tried anew, after the court-day, whether an amicable agreement could not be reached between the two parties. Mr. Nyberg and his party, however, were unwilling to yield, and therefore this effort also failed. In the meanwhile, he still preached in the town-house. But when an English Justice of the peace, who had been his great friend, fell out with him also, and reported to the Governor that Nyberg was a Moravian brother, he could no longer preach in the town-house. Some time after, viz., in the beginning of the summer of 1746, the protesting party prevailed with me to come up and preach for them. I traveled up, but was very much concerned when I heard, the day before, that this could not take place in the church without a disturbance. For the

Zinzendorfer told me boldly, that some of their people would set themselves in opposition. I resolved, therefore, for this time, for the purpose of avoiding all angry tumult, to preach in the town hall, and for this purpose asked permission from the town Judge, in the presence of several Zinzendorfer. Early on Sunday the protesting wardens and the congregation came together, and when I informed them that I was willing to preach in the town hall, because I was afraid of a sinful tumult, they advanced their reasons, and showed that it would be better now again to assert the right to the church. This I could not decline, but still I said it was necessary for me first to report this to the English town Judge and the Zinzendorfer, because I had the day before asked for the town-house, in the presence of the Zinzendorfer. This was accordingly done. I wrote an English letter to the Judge, and a German to the Zinzendorfer, and sent both letters half an hour before the opening of the church. We rang the bells regularly, and quietly went to church. I preached on Luke xiii. 6-9, of the withered fig tree, etc. Now, Mr. Nyberg instigated his adherents to build a new church,

and indeed in the manner of the Zinzendorfer, and assign it according to their plan.

§ 17. "Now what else did the poor man accomplish by such proceedings, but that he offended the most holy God by his dissimulation, occasioned great scandal, made many unnecessary expenses for the poor congregation, and exhibited himself as a liar before the whole world, because numberless times he had said publicly and privately that he had no intercourse with the Zinzendorfer, that he was no Moravian brother, but a genuine Lutheran. The poor ignorant multitude, who are accustomed to include the whole in individual cases, said aloud: If the preachers who preach learnedly and in an edifying manner are such conscienceless deceivers, whom then, in all the world, shall we any more trust? He himself, however, kept a bold front, and said that he was glad that the Saviour conducted the matter to so glorious an issue. So it must be according to the words of the Saviour, Matt. x. 34, 35; 1 Cor. xi. 19. All those present who heard this, my narration, could not do otherwise than disapprove of the conduct of Mr. Nyberg."

§ 18. Thus far the narrative of Mr. Mühlenberg. The Lutheran preachers did not enter into this quarrel of the Lutheran congregation in Lancaster, with parson Nyberg, or have anything to do with it, except that which, after repeated solicitations on the part of the Lutherans, they, in virtue of their office, could not refuse. They did not approve of the hastiness of the Lutherans, but, as elsewhere reported, they much more sought to restrain them from all violence, by the most impressive representations. Nor did they properly take part in their lawsuit, but labored chiefly to prevent greater disorders, and that those who had departed from the pure word of God, and the genuine doctrine of our church, might be won again, and the matter laid aside in a friendly manner. Neither did they insist on receiving this congregation and providing them with another preacher; but they would much rather have seen them supplied again with a true preacher from Sweden, or that other Swedish preachers had cared for them. But as the congregation perceived that their desire for a regularly-called preacher from Sweden could not be attained without much loss of time,

especially as the German candidates in Sweden are scarce, and they, viz., the congregation, which consists of born Germans, could not always sufficiently understand the born Swedes, although they had learned the German language, and the preaching also, in the German language, was too burdensome for the Swedish preachers themselves; thus the congregation did not cease urgently to entreat pastors Mühl-enberg and Brunnholtz to let them have one of the preachers written for from Germany, of whom, as was stated, they expected two, and until their arrival, to visit them occasionally, and also permit them to be visited by the assistant, Mr. Kurtz. The Swedish preachers, who were in Christian harmony with them, declined the care of this congregation, and requested them to take charge of it. As they could not discard them, nor forsake this congregation in their manifest need, they not only visited them several times themselves, and administered the Holy Supper, but Mr. Kurtz, who had already for some time conducted the worship of God in the congregation at Tulpehocken, had also, not without many hardships, on approval of the preachers, undertaken to



serve this congregation at Lancaster along with the other. He remained alternately two weeks at Lancaster and two weeks at Tulpehocken, until pastor Handschuch entered upon his office there, which he also, according to the latest intelligence, exercises among them, with much blessing.

§ 19. But although only one preacher could be sent, yet that they might come to the aid of several congregations in their necessity, it was thought proper to ordain to the preacher's office, the assistants, Messrs. Kurtz and Schaum. In the business entrusted to them hitherto, they had shown all faithfulness in the congregations, and not only attained to still more experience and aptness for the ministerial office, but also secured the love and confidence of the congregations. For this purpose, as well as for the closer union of the preachers, and the associated congregations among themselves, as also for mutual consultation and concert, in relation to the circumstances of all the congregations, a meeting of the preachers, elders and wardens of all said congregations, was arranged for at Philadelphia.

§ 20. The united congregations were in the

beginning only the three in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, which, at first, in common, applied to the court-preacher Ziegenhagen, in London, and to Dr. and Prof. Franke, in Halle, and requested of them the election and calling of several suitable preachers for them. When the first preacher, Mühlenberg, arrived in Pennsylvania, the fourth congregation at Germantown united with these. Afterwards the congregations in Tulpehocken and Lancaster, besides those at Nordkiel and Earlingstown, as second churches of these last two, joined the other congregations. Two small congregations at Upper Milford and Saccum, likewise united with the congregations in Providence and New Hanover, as out-parishes. From all these congregations the delegated elders and wardens, besides the preachers, appeared at this meeting. On proper invitation, there were present also, in friendly confidence, the Swedish provost, Mr. Sandin, and Mr. Hartwich, a preacher called by the Reverend members of the Ministerium in Hamburg, at the desire of a congregation in Jersey, and sent thither. This closer union had been wished for and desired by the con-

gregations, and five years before an attempt was made by a meeting, which at that time however was interrupted and failed, through the opposition excited by the preacher Nyberg. But in this meeting, everything passed off peaceably, and all the congregations obligated themselves to each other, to remain united as one congregation, and also, in like manner, for this purpose, to meet together once a year.

§ 21. The evangelical congregation at Tulpehocken had most strongly insisted, that they be provided with a regular preacher, and applied for Mr. Kurtz, who had hitherto served them with preaching and catechising. On their repeated request, Mr. Kurtz was appointed and ordained to the office of the evangelical teacher, by the preachers of the united congregations on the 14th (25th) of August, 1748, in presence of the wardens of the congregations, assembled on account of the appointed synod, and in presence of the Swedish provost and preachers. This was after he was examined by the assembled pastors, and sufficiently proved in reference to his fitness for exercising the office of the evangelical teacher, and the congregation had given

him a formal call, and he had drawn up an obligation, that he would continue in the pure doctrine of our Evangelical Lutheran Church, according to the word of God and our confessions of faith, and not depart from it. From this time he faithfully exercised the preacher's office in the congregation at Tulpehocken.

§ 22. Besides the above mentioned, there is yet another congregation in York, on the borders of Pennsylvania, beyond the Susquehanna river, twenty English or five German miles from Lancaster, which has also for a long time already sought aid from the Messrs. Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, and desired to be received into communion and union with the other congregations. In the spring of 1748, the other assistant, Mr. Schaum, was assigned to them for a time. The distance, however, and the shortness of the time, prevented him and the delegates of the congregation from being present at the above-mentioned meeting of the other congregations. It was also thought proper, that the congregation should first become better acquainted with Mr. Schaum, and some difficulties in it be removed, before his ordination took place, and therefore it was deferred for

the present. In the meanwhile, he had shown all faithfulness to the congregation, in public and private instruction, and God had not left his labor without a blessing; wherefore the congregation also had a cordial love for, and a friendly confidence in him. There being no further hesitancy in ordaining him, at their request, which then was also done, by the preachers in the following year, at the second meeting of the united congregations held in Lancaster in the month of June, 1749, and he was appointed as their regular preacher.

§ 23. These are the principal external changes which hitherto occurred among these congregations, to which is yet to be added an account of the building of churches, and the kind benefactions which arrived in their behalf. The church in Philadelphia was so far completed, that it was consecrated on the 25th of August, 1748, the day before the meeting of the synod. The ground on which the church was built, together with the exterior building, had cost 1310£ 17s. 9¾d., Pennsylvania currency, as already stated in the second continuation. The interior, viz., the pulpit, pews, windows, and the like, cost 296£ 16s. 11½d., Pennsylv-

vania money, according to the account rendered in the year 1749. Thus the whole cost of this church was, in Pennsylvania money, 1607£ 14s. 9¼d., and in German money, nearly 5,900 Rix dollars. Of this the congregation yet owed, in April, 1749, 770£, or 2823 Rix dollars and 8 Kr., which, until payment, required 46£ 4s., nearly 370 Rix dollars, interest. Because the congregation, and the number of hearers at preaching, were always increasing, a moderate gallery was also to have been built in the summer of 1746. We have however no intelligence, as yet, whether this was actually done, or at what cost. For the aforesaid debt, ten responsible men, together with pastors Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, have become surety, and had to assign their property therefor. But how much was paid of this debt since April, 1749, by the favors transmitted from Germany, or again, how much was added to it, by the erection of the gallery, may be noticed hereafter, inasmuch as intelligence hereof is still expected. In reference to the church in New Providence, it was already mentioned, in the second continuation, that it was finished and also consecrated, and proba-

bly the congregation owes but little more on it, or perhaps are already fully paid, of which also accurate information is still wanting. At New Hanover the unfinished church was not only wholly completed, but a new school-house was also built, and some acres of land purchased, both for the church and the school. All this was also paid for with the portion which the congregation received of the favors sent from England and Germany, and by the contributions from their own means. In relation to the church in Germantown, God awakened the high princely Consistory of Würtemberg, by the presentation of the most humble petition by a member of the congregation, a native of Würtemberg, to graciously grant 300 Fl. from the ecclesiastical treasury, as a kind contribution to this church.

§ 24. As from a letter of thanks of Nov. 27th, 1748, sent by pastor Brunnholtz, to a chaplain in ordinary to a prince in Würtemberg, the account of this church in Germantown not only most clearly appears, but many other circumstances are touched upon, and that which was already noticed established, we will insert an extract from it: "Revd. and

highly venerable sir, you have not only shown a paternal love to my congregation in Germantown, in the most humble presentation of a petition, to you and to the high princely Consistory of Württemberg, in presenting 300 florins from your ecclesiastical treasury, and transmitting it to us, but you have taken the trouble to notify me of this from Stuttgart by a letter of the 13th of March. Revd. and highly venerable sir, in the name of my whole congregation in Germantown, I now humbly and cordially thank the high princely Consistory, and all the high patrons, by whose intercession the contribution was secured, and as in duty bound acknowledge the receipt of 300 florins in the money of this country, which was sent by exchange from London to this place, with the assurance that the congregation will not fail to include them as their dear benefactors in their public intercessions. I especially have reason to humbly give thanks, Revd. and highly venerable sir, for the joy and encouragement, which God gave to me by your comforting and instructive letter, inasmuch as I can assure you, that it was as a balm to me in this wild land, in distressed circumstances,



and under a heavy official burden, to receive such paternal encouragement from you. Revd. and highly venerable sir, I sought to do my duty on the 10th of May of this year, by sending a letter of thanks to them for this benefaction. But as the vessel by which I sent it was taken by the enemy, it, together with many other letters and reports, was lost. Since that time I have been sickly nearly all summer, and nigh unto death even; therefore I most obediently ask to be excused for the delay of this, and desire that these lines may be received, and you, Revd. and highly venerable sir, peruse them in life and good health. As respects the external circumstances of my church and congregation in Germantown, I, for my part, had much rather that instead of a bell, assistance in money was given us. For after our church here was so far completed that we could worship in the dry, to pay the building expenses we had to borrow 800 Rix dollars in German money, and annually pay 48 Rix dollars interest on it. The congregation, when the building commenced, had exerted themselves to the utmost. To pay the yearly interest and other necessary expenses, and also to finish the

church altogether, was as much as they could do, the principal remaining unpaid; and thus it was a great relief, that we were enabled to pay one-fourth of the debt, and consequently diminish the interest. God, our Father in Christ, has not denied us the greater; he will also find out means for the smaller. He has hitherto helped us mightily, paternally and wonderfully; he will do it still, according to his promise, if we trust in him. In the congregation in Philadelphia, where I live, we were much more deeply involved in debt, in building a church, as building is more expensive there, and the greater part of the congregation poor. Still, Revd. and highly venerable sir, the Lord will give us help here also, and awaken our brethren in the faith in Europe to make a collection for us, as we have already received many contributions through the tireless exertions of the court preacher Ziegenhagen and Dr. Franke. When the church debts are once paid, and we are free from the heavy interest, I hope our congregations will be able to support their teachers, as long as they are satisfied with the necessities. Amid many afflictions from without and from within, God has

made us glad this year, by the arrival of a new colleague, Mr. Handschuch, who now labors with a blessing in the town of Lancaster, and seeks to bring the congregation there into order, which was distracted by the going over to the Herrnhuter of Nyberg, who had been sent from Sweden. On the tenth Sunday after Trinity, we also had the pleasure, solemnly, in the name of God, to consecrate the church in Philadelphia, the corner-stone of which was laid in 1743, on which occasion the Swedish Lutheran Ministerium of this country, and its provost, were present, together with several other regularly-called preachers. On the other hand, we were heartily grieved, when God shortly after called away from this world provost Sandin, who had only been sent in spring by the Archbishop in Upsala, and soon after, the oldest Swedish preacher, Tranberg, as we stood in the fraternal official union with them. At the same time, Hochreutiner, a Reformed preacher, had the misfortune to be suddenly killed by the careless discharge of a gun. As respects the internal condition of our congregations, it is certainly true that the greater part, among the old and the young, are

yet earthly-minded, and in great ignorance. Yet, in many, not a little desire is manifested to be instructed in the word of God, and with the most of them, a reverence and devotional quiet during public worship; and many also show a tender love and cordial confidence in us as their teachers. There are, indeed, few, yet some in both my congregations, of whom I have a well founded hope that they were awakened from the spiritual sleep of sin, and drawn by the Father unto the Son, and who give evidence of an earnestness in their souls' salvation. To lead these further, and keep them in the wholesome pasture of the word, requires much watchfulness, effort, opposition, and divine wisdom. We now have but little offence from the Herrnhuter. They are being revealed here also; one after another leaves them again. Their chief seat and retreat is in Bethlehem, about sixty miles from Philadelphia. My most worthy colleague, Mr. Mühlenberg, who is the oldest among us, lives twenty-five miles from here, in Providence, and we teachers, by the grace of the Lord, stand in fraternal union and love, the one for all and all for one. So our congregations also, though lying far

apart, are yet joined together, as one congregation, with whose elders we united preachers have an annual meeting. We all commend ourselves to the intercession of our dear fathers and patrons in Germany, and cordially desire that God may especially, for a long time yet, preserve and powerfully strengthen you, reverend and highly venerable sir, for the good of his church."

§ 25. Thus then the goodness and paternal care of the faithful God is to be heartily praised, who did not hitherto suffer his servants to come to shame, in the important matter of building churches, when they could not calculate on any collection from the country, or any other sure income, but had to venture all upon the gracious aid of God. Although the remaining debts of the church in Philadelphia, as a heavy burden, as yet oppress the hearts of the preachers and of the hearers, still this is a sufficient proof of the faithfulness of God, viz., that he has not yet forsaken them under it; yea, that by his liberal hand he has already graciously provided for more than the half of the cost, and thereby strengthened their faith, that he surely, also, will impart the rest by his

blessing; and furthermore, that he will yet awaken many Christian hearts to give liberal contributions for the full payment of these debts, and thereby also, at the same time, promote the spiritual blessing in these congregations, which cannot be obtained without externally good institutions in church and schools. If the debts of the congregation in Philadelphia, on account of church building, are large, so also is the Lord rich, who, if it be his will, is able to impart this and more, and abundantly supply this want.

§ 26. To the glory of his paternal care, the temporal blessings must also be remembered here, which were given in these last years to the united congregations in Pennsylvania, by the hands of several most worthy benefactors, and whereof the greater part was applied to the payment of the church debts in Philadelphia. In June, 1745, 200 Rix dollars were remitted by a person of high rank, which the late wife of the Counselor Majorin, of Bremen, set aside in her will, for the promotion of good institutions, of which the half was given to the congregations in Pennsylvania. A high princely person of rank in Brunswick, sent 20

Rix dollars in the beginning of the year 1746. A high baronial person of rank made a present of five ducats, and soon afterwards sent 50 Rix dollars, which his deceased mother had most kindly bequeathed in her last will, to the congregation in Philadelphia. A worthy patroness in Anhalt, sent pastor Handschuch 20 Rix dollars, to which another anonymous benefactress contributed one-half, and soon after five Rix dollars more; and an unnamed friend also consigned 100 Rix dollars to the same. At the Easter fair, 1748, 100 Rix dollars were paid, besides other legacies, to other objects, which John Frederick Berner (with whom we of Halle never had any acquaintance,) formerly canon and subsenior of the cathedral of St. Boniface, in Hameln, had kindly dedicated to church building in Philadelphia. In February, 1746, in March, 1747, in February, 1748, and in February, 1749, a Christian school-man in Westphalia, sent 11 Rix dollars each year. Other kind favors without distinction are remembered with tender thankfulness, but for the sake of brevity cannot be cited in this place. The Landgrave of Hessen-Darmstadt is to be praised with the most grateful ac-

knowledge, as on the repeated most humble application of the congregations in Pennsylvania, he graciously permitted a collection to be taken in his principality and lands for the building of churches in Pennsylvania, in view of the fact that many of the children of his country were found among them, and which collection altogether amounted to 579 Gulden, 10 Alb., and 5 Pf. The Lord be magnified for this liberal blessing, and recompense the most serene ruler of this land, as well as all others also who aided in securing permission for this collection, and manifested their active love by a contribution. The Lord reward their disposition of mind and their favors with superabundant blessings, and never permit any want to arise in this land in a rich and faithful preaching of his word. For this benefit conferred, may his spiritual and temporal blessings become great in it, for which the congregations in their public assemblies will not fail to pray, as well for the whole land as for its gracious ruler, after the sum of this collection has already been carefully sent to them, and actually received by them, and in whose name most humble and heartfelt thanks



for it, are hereby given. We assure all other high and worthy benefactors of the most humble and sincere thankfulness for all the generous gifts, whether noticed here or not, and cordially desire for them the rich reward of grace from him who has promised to let no drink of cold water pass unrecompensed. This name—the name of the gracious God, and his paternal providence—be humbly praised and glorified, as well for all temporal blessings received and help shown, as especially also for all spiritual blessings granted, and for the manifested fruit of his word!

## CHAPTER V.

### 2. EXTRACTS FROM PASTOR HANDSCHUCH'S DIARY WHICH HE KEPT ON HIS VOYAGE FROM ENGLAND TO PENNSYLVANIA.

ON the 25th of September, 1747, I went on board of the ship Burlington, which immediately set sail from Gravesend, and anchored in the Downs of Deal, where our convoy and the rest of the ships, seventeen in number, joined us on the 1st of October; whereupon we arrived at Spithead, on the 6th of October. On the 14th of October, our captain resolved to cast anchor near the Isle of Wight. For our ship had leaked very much, for many days, and notwithstanding all the efforts made in the harbor, the exact place of the leak could not be found. For this reason, it was, during the ebb, to be examined anew, and all around, and the leaks closed with all diligence. This evening, some of our people caught fine lobsters, at the shore of this beautiful island, which held to the light, or to the sun, whilst living, are al-

most wholly transparent, and have a very good taste. They also caught a particular kind of snail, of good taste, and a wonderful fish, a span long, with a thick and very broad head, and two strong horns, half an inch long, of a dark brown color. On the 15th of October, at 9 o'clock in the morning, we again set sail; nevertheless at 11 o'clock, we had to anchor again on account of a contrary wind. On the 16th of October, we sailed further away, but on account of a light wind, were unable to reach the harbor of Plymouth, before the 22d of October. On the 24th of October, the captain commenced to have the ship unloaded, for better examination, as the leak, which hitherto admitted so much water, could neither be discovered in the harbor at Portsmouth, nor at the Isle of Wight.

About noon, on Nov. 6, I was conveyed ashore by a passing boat. The boatman entered into conversation with me, and urgently besought me to visit him at his house in a small neighboring village near the harbor, and if it were only for half an hour. In the evening, on my return to the ship, I met him in our cabin, and heard that he

was a shoemaker. We conversed much with each other, to our mutual edification, and did not permit the disquiet in the cabin to interfere with us; much less were we ashamed to confess Christ and his grace given unto us, before all the people present. At his departure, he again very cordially invited me to visit him, because there were yet others living in his neighborhood, who desired to speak with me. On the 7th of November, the captain of a ship from Stettin sent to bring me aboard. On the way, the boat stopping at a vessel from Holland, the captain urged me in a very friendly manner to come on board his ship for a little while, which I also could not refuse. We could not sufficiently wonder at the costliness and uncommon cleanliness of this ship. Afterwards he went with me on board of the vessel from Stettin, where there was another captain from Dantzic. At table, I sought to edify them according to the grace which God granted, and it was very agreeable to me once again to speak German with Germans. In the afternoon we went into town together. In the evening, about 8 o'clock, taking a lantern, I returned with our captain, who

had as yet had some letters to write. When we were having ourselves taken to our ship, and were in the midst of the water, scarcely the distance of a gunshot away from our vessel, one of the boatmen alleged that he belonged to a man of war, and must first go to it, which however was very far off. As it rained very hard and the water was in unusual commotion on account of the violence of the wind, the captain would by no means agree to this, and seized the helm himself. Amid the violent opposition of the sailor, we finally reached a ship lying near ours, which had been taken from the French, and which our captain had hired to put our lading in, that the repairs might the more conveniently be made; and I was obliged, on the captain's repeated calls, to place myself in safety, by a leap into the large boat of this ship, although the two boats could not properly meet together. But as from a total disuse, it was entirely full of water, I fell into it over my knees, and had to stand in the water, until our people drew me out of the boat, and carried me to our ship. In the forenoon of the 9th of November, the Stettiner, the Dantzicker, and the

Hollander, came aboard our ship, to visit me and to fetch me away. I related to them what it was, with which I had just been edifying myself out of the word of God, showed my call to them, and gave them the first report of our congregations in Pennsylvania. After a long conversation, they brought me on board of the vessel from Dantzic, where we dined together. The Hamburger was not inexperienced in the Scriptures and in Christianity; therefore, whilst we were together, edifying conversation was not lacking for a moment, which related chiefly to the justification of the poor sinner before God, what are good works, and the like matters. When towards evening, I came on board of our ship, the cook, an already aged man, received me in a particularly friendly manner, and immediately began a long conversation with me concerning the state of his soul. He alleged that he knew and felt his spiritual misery, and disapproved of the life of his comrades. I wished him a true earnestness, and entreated him to repent with all his heart. On the 11th of November, I again took a meal in town, and indeed in company with many French prisoners, of

the last six conquered ships of war, and with whom I conversed much, according to opportunity. They were all uncommonly courteous. One of them, however, seemed to have a very special confidence in me, and may have been a Protestant, secretly. This evening, I had to wait for nearly two hours in the passage house, as the boat could not leave on account of the high wind and waves. In the meanwhile, the landlord engaged in a spiritual conversation with another man. This man, to me unknown, spoke of spiritual things very properly and affectingly, but the landlord opposed him continually, and was of the opinion, that it was only necessary to speak of regeneration, of Christ, and of faith, etc., to Jews, heathen, and Turks, but not to Christians, with whom all this is already to be taken for granted. It was impossible for me to remain silent any longer. I therefore briefly corrected him, and from the word of God pointed out to him, the way of eternal life as well as I was able in the English language. The stranger conceived a particular love for me, and in the boat he related to me how he was awakened and converted.

Afterwards I spoke with him several times in Plymouth, and during the conversation noticed that his heart was much affected, which he was unable to suppress or to hide, although we conversed with each other on the street, many people going and coming. In the forenoon of November the 12th, I was in an English church, and in the afternoon, for the first time, in the French Reformed church of this place. The French preacher, Mr. Bordier, edified me very much, as he preached so instructively and profoundly of the sonship of God, that I left the church full of admiration and joy. On the 13th of November, after meal time, I desired to go around the town somewhat. When I came to the citadel, the French preacher just mentioned overtook me, saluted me in a very friendly manner, and invited me to come to his house. He said that he had particularly noticed me yesterday afternoon in church, and had taken me for a Hollandish preacher from one of the war vessels from Holland lying here. In the expectation of an edifying conversation, I did not refuse to go with him to his house, where he showed me much courtesy, and invited me to dine with him as often as I



wished. Our conversation on this occasion, related to myself, my country, and my call, and the difference in doctrine of our respective churches. On the 14th of November, the shoemaker, mentioned under date of 6th inst. in this report, came and took me in his boat to his house. The whole company at table consisted of eight upright persons. I sought to edify them as well as I could in English, but they edified me much more by their affectionate simplicity. Our meeting was closed with several edifying English hymns, and an affecting prayer by the shoemaker. On the 15th of November about noon, I went to town to the French preacher, because I had promised him to dine with him. He was very kind, and even inquired of me whether I would not preach in his church, which however I declined. In the forenoon of the 16th of November, I was in the large English high church, where the great detected conspiracy was solemnly commemorated. The sermon was wholly directed to this circumstance, and many historical facts of those times were related at length, to awaken the people to the praise of God. Afterwards I saw the

whole magistracy in their attire, together with the preachers of the high church, the constables going before, marching two and two through the town, with delightful music and flying colors. At noon I was invited to dine by a Mr. Kinsmann. He, his wife, and all his house, feared God in simplicity. In the afternoon, I had to go with him to one who had been a strong negotiant, a Mr. Mignan, who received me in a very friendly manner and edified me not a little. For his heart was nearly always full of the most tender and affecting praise and thankfulness to God. I had to close our interview with a prayer in the French language, for in English I did not as yet trust myself to do it without distraction of thought. On the 17th of November I dined with Mr. Mignan, not without my own, and I hope the edification of the whole company at table. His niece, a woman of uncommon understanding, and of rare gifts, was especially much affected by our conversation, and wept at parting. Thereupon I went to the post-office, and afterwards to the church, to which Mr. Mignan had directed me, for prayer and the hearing of several chapters of

the Bible. After church, I took a walk with him, at his request. His heart and lips were full of the praise of God, both for the work of creation and for the redemption of mankind. On the 18th of November the wind seemed to become favorable; therefore, by order of the captain, we had all to be ready to sail next day, although without a convoy. Without delay I went into town to take leave of my dear friends, Mr. Mignan, Mr. Kinsmann, and the French preacher, Mr. Bordier. Each one wished me to stay for dinner, but for good reasons I promised the last. Our conversation at table related to the kingdom of God in Germany, and the East and West Indies. After dinner, I had to go with him to a navy officer eighty-four years old, who sent for us by his grandson, also an English navy officer. He related to us his many troubles and dangers through which he passed, in so many naval battles, and gave me a letter to his niece in Philadelphia, and requested me to visit her personally. At leaving, I wished this old man much divine grace, to employ his time yet remaining properly for eternity, which he also promised to do. Afterwards, Mr. Bordier and

myself went out of town on a hill, from thence to see Captain Saumares brought to town, who had been mortally wounded in the last naval battle between the English and the French fleets, near Cape Finisterre, and died on his ship in the harbor at the king's dock. He was accompanied by more than sixteen boats, in one of which was the admiral himself, but in the rest sea-captains and other officers. In town the whole funeral cortege was right princely, and as long as it continued, from the moment he was lifted from the deck of his ship into a boat, until he was lowered into the grave, a space of nearly three hours, a cannon was fired each minute by all the ships of war lying around here, and at last by the citadel also. On account of his valiant conduct, the king had him buried so magnificently. The whole court of aldermen, in their attire, all navy officers stationed here, the whole priesthood of the English church from town and the neighborhood, and finally several companies of marines, constituted this beautiful and orderly procession. One thing and another were instructive to me. Among other things, I thought: If an earthly king shows his people

such distinguished honor for their good conduct, what will not the Most High King do, through his infinite grace, for those who serve him faithfully and uprightly, denying their own will and all the advantages of this life, and by his divine aid contending, as valiantly as they are able, against all his and their foes?

On the 19th of November the wind again became quite contrary for us. In the forenoon I went into an English, and in the afternoon to the French church, at the door of which I met Mr. Mignan, who was very glad to see me again. In going into the church, he related to me, with satisfied looks, how Mr. Bordier to-day prayed for me publicly, and for the blessed success of my calling, which I, myself, also heard this afternoon, still with such words only wherewith he described me and my vocation. After church, I had to go with Mr. Mignan to his house.

On the 23d of November, about 12 o'clock, I had to go on board in all haste, whereupon we immediately sailed out of the harbor. This evening I began to feel the sea-sickness. Before it was quite evening, we met the fine East India fleet under Admiral Boscowen, in whose

company we expected to sail some three or four hundred miles. Wind and weather were favorable enough for us until the evening of November the 26th, and my sea-sickness was endurable all this time. But this evening terribly stormy weather and a heavy rain set in. The wind became continually more violent, and, for us, altogether contrary. From this night onward I was very sea-sick. Early on the 27th of November the East India fleet was wholly dispersed, and in the evening not a ship was any longer visible. On the 28th and 29th of November we had to consign ourselves entirely to the wind and waves. On the 30th of November the people could no longer endure the severe labor, and we were in constant danger of being at last swallowed up by the waves. Therefore, the captain resolved to return again. In the evening we met a large English ship of war, in a similar condition. We were interrogated by its captain, and we inquired of him where we were. He gave us the wrong information, but doubtless ignorantly, and thereby occasioned us to take such a course, that when on the day following, Dec. 1st, it cleared off, our people saw themselves less

than half a mile from a great many sea-cliffs, whereat all were much frightened. They therefore began to strain their sails as much as they were able, to escape this manifest danger. After we were at a distance, several came to my bed, and with great joy related all to me, when I had a fine opportunity, to speak a word of exhortation to them.

On the 2d of December, at noon, we again, thank God, safely entered the harbor at Plymouth. On account of my debility, I thought it advisable for my recovery to land, and the sooner the better. I therefore went to town to Mr. Mignan. They received me, full of joy and surprise at our return, and praised the Lord with me, for my deliverance out of so many dangers. I afterwards went to Mr. Kinsmann, whose whole house received me with much gladness, and invited me to lodge with them; which I the more willingly accepted with all thankfulness, as my bed had become very damp by the continual rain. On the 6th of December, I was informed, when, soon after meal time, I had myself conveyed to our ship, that two preachers, one English and one a German, with his wife, were on a ship lying

near, called the Snow, which came here from London a few days ago, and desired to speak with me. I accordingly had myself taken over, and found that the married man was no German, but a Swede, and that he understood very little, and his wife understood no German at all. Now, as he could speak neither English nor French, we spoke in Latin to each other, and each inquired concerning the nature of our calling. The English preacher was not present. The former was sent from Stockholm to Pennsylvania, for the Swedes, but the latter goes to New London. As it became late, we took a friendly leave, and promised each other to maintain a good friendship in Pennsylvania, and if possible to see each other again, on board of one of our ships. About 4 o'clock on the 8th of December, I had to go with Mr. Kinsmann to an upright goldsmith, Mr. Freymann. We were altogether contented with each other, and with the grace granted to us. In the evening of December the 9th, I took supper with Mr. Bordier. Our intercourse was useful and pleasant, and I could not sufficiently wonder, that he received all in such love, that under the circumstances was said for the glory



of God, and for the advancement of his kingdom here in Plymouth. Early on the 13th of December, I was called on board of the ship. I hastened all I could to speak with the captain himself. He, however, allowed me no more than one hour's time. I then took leave of my friends in all haste, and was presented by Mr. Stephen Mignan with a supply of Spanish wine, for the voyage. Early on the 14th of December, the wind again became wholly contrary for us, and we were obliged to remain in the harbor. Several of the passengers again landed, but I went on board of the ship *Snow*, to visit the Swedish preacher, with whom I spent nearly the whole day, although we had but little external quiet. On the 15th of December, I again went into town, where my acquaintances again received me very kindly. In the evening at 6 o'clock, I went to preaching. After service, complaint was made to me that a German Moravian brother arrived here to-day from Exeter, and it was much to be feared that he would get such a party here, and occasion such a violent division among the children of God, as he did in Exeter; especially as from three to four persons of this place were already

attached to him and his brethren, although they seek to conceal it—that I should, indeed, according to my conscience, warn all my acquaintances here of it, as they would sooner take it of me. This I also did, on every opportunity given me thereto. On the 17th of December, about 10 o'clock, I was informed that the wind had become very favorable, and that we would certainly sail this afternoon. I went once more into the French church. Afterwards I talked of many things with Mr. Bordier. Young Mr. Mignan also came to invite me to his house to dinner, that I might be on hand, if indeed we should yet set sail to-day. In the evening, about 4 o'clock, I was taken on board, and at 5 o'clock we went under sail. The convoy was the *Intrepid*. Early on the 18th of December, we saw ourselves deserted by our convoy, and our whole fleet consisted of only five ships. This morning my sea-sickness commenced again. On the 19th of December my sickness increased, and our ship was separated from its company. This night, contrary wind, rain, and storm, set in again, whereby we all, and I especially, on account of my debility, suffered much discom-

fort. The ship was left to cruise, and as the stormy weather and the violent contrary wind would not cease for so many days, and we were in constant danger of an accident, or of hostile corsairs, we were obliged, about 10 o'clock on the 26th of December, to return again. On the 27th of December we thought nothing else than that we were not far from the Channel, and very near to land, and therefore we were afraid to approach the land any nearer, on account of the continuance of the same violent stormy weather, especially as it had become quite dark. We therefore remained in the Channel, as we thought, and let the ship cruise in its midst. On the 28th of December we could not do otherwise than remain in a similar situation, on account of the continuance of the same stormy weather. On the 29th of December I began to be somewhat better, after I had suffered much. To-day, the sea became more calm, and the weather more endurable, after it had been all this time very terribly stormy. We desired to go with the wind to Falmouth, for safety in the harbor of that place, and await a more favorable wind. We were of the opinion that we were very near

the French coast. We therefore sailed in a cross direction for several hours, although somewhat against the wind. In so many hours, however, we were unable to discover any land. This induced the captain to examine our situation more particularly ; and after the reckoning, we found that we must be very near the shores of Ireland. Now, as the wind was in that direction, and it was cheaper in Ireland than in England, the captain resolved to sail for Kinsale. But in the evening, about 5 o'clock of the 30th of December, instead of Kinsale, we arrived at the sound of Waterford. A pilot was demanded by several discharges of cannon, who also came on board yet this evening, at a very late hour, and informed us that we were in the bay before Waterford, about seven miles from that town. On the 31st of December the wind again became favorable for us to the West Indies. Therefore the captain was unwilling to sail further in the bay, but desired to lie at anchor here for only one night more, until he had again supplied the ship with fresh water, the want of which we had already felt considerably. He, with one passenger, a native of Waterford, and whose

father is living there still, went ashore, but for the above reason would take no one else with him.

On the 1st of January, 1748, the wind again became contrary, and our captain also did not return. At noon, therefore, I had myself, besides four other passengers, taken ashore. We landed in a small town which the people call the Passage, wholly inhabited by Roman Catholics, and dined there very cheaply. At 3 o'clock we left, and went to the city of Waterford, five miles strong from the Passage, for exercise, and to deliver my letters personally. In all my life, I never saw such miserable and such poor country people, nor such mean farmers' huts, as on this road. And thus it is said to be, almost throughout all Ireland. At 7 o'clock we entered into the city. As our captain, who met us in the bay, called to me, that I should immediately go to the city, to the above mentioned passenger, captain Roche, as he had secured a comfortable lodging for me at a reasonable price, so I did not delay to have myself taken there. I met his father, himself, and several relatives together, and was retained for supper, and thereupon taken to

my lodging by him; which was in the house of a Roman Catholic widow, where I also met a French Protestant, Mr. Verducam, who gave me some candid advice in reference to my stay in this place. On the 3d of January, at the request of Mr. Verducam, I went with him out of the city, to an honest Frenchman, who is a merchant and has a large sugar manufactory here. This man received me in such a friendly manner as if he had known me for many years, and after supper also accompanied me home. At noon on the 13th of January, I went to the house of Captain Roche's father, whither our captain also unexpectedly came, and gave me notice that I should be on board to-morrow between 12 and 1 o'clock. Thereupon, I took leave wherever it was most necessary, but was obliged to tarry with an aged lady over two hours, and not without edification. On the 14th of January, after 9 o'clock, I left Waterford for the harbor. With difficulty I arrived on board after 1 o'clock, and immediately after we set sail. Early on the 15th of January, the pilot told me that the day before yesterday they had accidentally discovered the proper leak, which had hitherto ad-

mitted so much water into the ship, and given them all so much concern and labor. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 28th of January, there was the most violent storm we ever had, with terrible thunder and lightning. It continued with the same violence, until about 8 o'clock. The people suffered much by it. They had scarcely put on dry clothes and eaten a little, when there suddenly arose a far more violent storm, which, according to the acknowledgment of all, could not have been worse. All was frightful to behold, and to hear. The water of the waves dashing over the ship, rushed into the cabin mightily; and when I at last ventured to rise, I had to go about it in the wet without shoes or stockings for more than an hour (as by the violent commotion everything in the cabin was in confusion,) to get my things together and put them on wet as I found them, for it was impossible to get dry clothes out of my trunk. At 10 o'clock the captain with a part of his people came into the cabin, and said to me: "but do you not see what a frightful storm and tempest we have? It can actually be no more violent. God only save our souls as yet! We have

done all that was possible, but the ship is no longer under control." I could answer nothing more, than that the Lord could still easily help us; they should only go and do their part. Contrary to the supposition of all, God also very strangely preserved the ship, according to his power and goodness. At 1 o'clock the violence of the storm abated somewhat, whereupon we ate a little, which however took place in a very distressing manner. Whilst eating, several mighty waves came through our cabin window, upon me, as I was nearest to them, and poured all over me and several others. The cabin was filled by it with water, perhaps an ell deep. We could nowhere hide ourselves from the water. On deck everything was far worse, especially as one side of the ship was already lying very deep in the water. The cabin windows were closed as soon as possible with strong shutters, and the water dipped out of the cabin with much trouble, which however was of little use, as the waves also dashed in through the door, which could not always remain closed. About 7 o'clock, the water was for the most part removed. But when I looked after my things, I found my bed, as



well as my trunk, thoroughly wet. Consequently, I had to stay up all night in my wet clothes. A fire was kindled in the cabin, of turf and stone coal, to dry both the cabin and ourselves again, but we suffered beyond description from the smoke, which found vent nowhere. In this dreadful storm I recognized it with humble thankfulness, as a special favor and mercy of God, that I was not only not seasick in body, and so needed no outward help, but that I was also enabled to subject my will wholly to the divine will, and in patient and quiet composure, trust him to do with me as he would, according to his wise counsel—if he only in danger and in death does not forsake me by the power and comfort of his Spirit, which he will not do, because of his boundless love to me in Christ my Lord. I ascribed this so much the less to my own strength, as in the previous storm I had to contend in my mind with many cares as to what perhaps my dear fathers, brothers, friends and relations, and especially the dear brethren in Pennsylvania who have looked for help so long, would think if they should hear nothing more of me. God especially granted to me at this time, a partic-

ularly joyful certainty of my salvation, in case I should lose my temporal life in the sea, according to the will of God. On the 29th of January, when the captain was in the cabin for breakfast, he with strong emotion of heart addressed me thus: "The Lord make us thankful for the wonderful deliverance out of this danger! It certainly was not in our power to save our ship and our life. I had already given up all for lost, and I must confess from the heart, the power of God has done this. I and all of us shall be much obliged to you, if as soon as convenient, you preach for us a praise and thanksgiving sermon, and so awaken us to the praise of God." This I promised him, if they could sufficiently understand my bad English. In the evening the time was passed in relating all the circumstances of this twice-repeated very frightful storm—the unexpected good conduct of all and every sailor, and of the so unlooked-for gracious and mighty deliverance, out of the very greatest danger. Now as the captain attributed all this to the hand of God, this gave me occasion for many a joy and edifying conversation. Towards evening of the 30th of January, wind and weather were some-

what better, and most of the people gathered around me on deck, to whom in the way of dialogue, I preached a genuine sermon on repentance.

On the 3d and 4th of February, I became very sick, and therefore had to wait with the desired English sermon. Very stormy weather also set in anew. From the 5th to the 11th of February, we had continual contrary wind and often very stormy weather, and were several times in great danger during the night. I was however extraordinarily miserable on February 18th; at the repeated request of the captain, I had nevertheless, finally to preach in the English language. The text was Psalm xci. 15; *I will be with him in trouble*, etc. The people, English, Presbyterians, Quakers, Roman Catholics, were all present and very attentive. In the afternoon of the 25th of February I had to preach on the remaining part of the above text; and I believe that it was not without a blessing, of which I had some indications. God also gave me a greater readiness in the English language.

At the solicitation of the captain, I had to preach again in the afternoon of the 3d of

March. Text, 1 Tim. i. 15. On the 10th of March there was hard wind and storm, with tempest, which hindered our meeting together to hear a sermon meditated on by me the day before. On the 17th of March, the sea was calm and the weather fine. At noon, at table, the captain asked me to preach for them in the afternoon, which I did, on Rom. viii. 32. March 19th, from 6 o'clock in the morning until towards evening, we had no wind at all. This evening, after some wind had again arisen, several of our sailors, from the height of a mast, noticed a ship in the distance. Our cannon were loaded anew, in apprehension of a hostile pirate, and soon after we prepared for a great storm of wind which was approaching, that we might weather it out, and which also continued throughout the whole night. On the 24th of March the ship was not permitted to sail during the whole forenoon, on account of the violence of the wind. To-day, it was colder than at any time before on my voyage. By some observations made at noon, during transient glimpses of the sun, our people became aware that we were too far north. The ship was therefore turned southward, with the gentle

wind which followed. On account of the disquietude, we could not meet for public service to-day. At noon of March the 28th, we were somewhat alarmed by a tolerably large sloop, as with the wind it came directly and very rapidly towards us. However, when they saw everything was prepared for battle, and our large flag raised, they took another course. From various circumstances, we suspected that their intention was hostile. In casting the lead, we found bottom to-day for the first time. March the 29th: During last night, until 10 o'clock this morning, there was a lack of wind. At noon a sloop again came very near to us. One hour after, they raised their flag, we did the same, and they sailed away on their course. In the afternoon we saw land for the first time, although very faintly, whereat there was great joy with all. In the evening another sloop came very rapidly towards us. We immediately raised our flag, and they did the same. When we discovered that they were English, we permitted them to approach nearer to our ship, and inquired of each other through speaking trumpets, when we found that we were thirty miles too far north, and on the

coast of New Jersey. We therefore soon tacked ship. On the 30th of March, we had contrary wind, but very fine weather. At 11 o'clock a sloop came near us. They were inquired of who they were and whither they were going, but they returned not the least answer, although the questions were several times earnestly repeated. This finally obliged the captain to fire upon them. Thereupon they answered all we desired to know. They were from Rhode Island, and bound for Philadelphia.

On the 1st of April we had fine weather but contrary wind. Another tolerably large ship sailed not far from us, on the same course, but it never came too near us. After meal time, the captain sent five of his people with the large boat, to land at Cape Henlopen, to get a pilot, after we had given notice by several discharges of cannon, and none had come. Four of our men returned again late in the evening, but had to leave the fifth for a pilot, as no one was allowed to go on board of a strange ship, until some of their people had been examined by a magistrate of a neighboring village. We understood that this was done

for the reason that a fleet of twenty Spanish ships of war, large and small, under the known Don Pietro, cruised about the coast here, and the inhabitants daily feared an attack. From the 2d to the 5th of April, we had scarcely any wind. Nevertheless, by the aid of the tide, we gradually advanced so far up the Delaware, that early on the 5th of April we were only eight miles from Philadelphia, but could proceed no further. After breakfast the merchants sent a boat to meet us, to fetch away letters. As everything was packed up early to-day, and I was otherwise ready to land, I went ashore, and into Philadelphia, with our captain and six passengers, in the Philadelphia boat, where we arrived in the evening about 5 o'clock, safely and well. The Lord our God be praised for all his goodness, patience and long-suffering! I did not find Mr. Brunnholtz at home, as he had to be in Germantown on account of a funeral and other official duties; but I met Mr. Schaum.

On the 7th of April the church council requested me in church to preach for the congregation in the afternoon, as they all desired and expected it. Although I would rather

have as yet rested this day, still I could not refuse them. I therefore, according to the grace which God granted, preached on 1 Thes. v. 9, 10; and, in the introductory prayer, I publicly praised and thanked God for all the spiritual and temporal favors shown me on the whole voyage, which Mr. Schaum had also done in the sermon in the forenoon. After church I met my dear brother, Mr. Brünnholtz, at home, who received me with much joy, and on the 9th of April rode with me to Providence, to pastor Mühlenberg, whom, however, we did not meet at home; therefore, I only spoke with him for the first time on the 10th of April, in the house of an Englishman, not far from the church in Providence. He welcomed me in these words: *They that sow with tears shall reap with joy.* On the 11th of April we again rode to Philadelphia, where, on the 14th, I preached on John xix. 6-16. On the 17th of April we had a visit from the Swedish preacher of this place, and Mr. Sandin, who had recently arrived in York, who was sent here as provost and commissary from Upsal, and with whom I had already spoken on several occasions, in the harbor of Ply-



mouth. Our intercourse was very friendly and profitable, and may perhaps yet have its blessing in the future. April 18th I preached in Germantown, on Titus ii. 14. About 4 o'clock I left here for Providence, to go to pastor Mühlenberg, and on the 19th heard him preach, to my no small content. The people, by their attention, their devotion in singing, and their reverence in their public confession on their knees, were to me uncommonly edifying. At dinner, Mr. Conrad Weiser came with an Indian king and his son. After dinner these persons left for Philadelphia on business. Towards evening of the 20th of April, I rode with Mr. Vigera and a warden to New Hanover, where Mr. Mühlenberg had preparatory service that day. In the forenoon of April the 21st, I preached there on the Gospel for the first day of Easter, and then assisted in the administration of the holy Supper, to perhaps three hundred communicants. After Mr. Mühlenberg had baptized eight children here, we had to go two miles further to baptize the ninth. April the 22d, I preached in Providence in the forenoon, and assisted in administering the Lord's Supper to equally as many communi-

cants. On the 23d, a. m., I rode in company with pastor Mühlenberg to Skippack, where in a large room I preached on John xx. 24, to a considerable number of Lutheran and Reformed people. Early on the 25th of April we set out on our journey to Lancaster, viz., my dear brethren Messrs Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz and myself, together with Mr. Viger. On the way Mr. Mühlenberg preached in english to the Swedes in their own church in Schwartzwalde, and Mr. Brunnholtz delivered a discourse in German to the Germans who were present. Several children were also baptized, and a couple joined in marriage, the ceremonies of all of which lasted until nearly 3 o'clock in the afternoon. As a sermon was also promised to the people living in and around Exeter, and they were to meet at 3 o'clock, I had to go there in all haste, with Mr. Viger. Messrs Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, on the contrary, still remained with the Swedes, waiting for Mr. Conrad Weiser with the Indians. At 5 o'clock we came to a house not far from the church, where indeed there was a number of people, but an uncommonly great multitude of people of all sorts from a distance had already left at

4 o'clock. As those still remaining wished for instruction, I had them come into the room, and preached for them on John v. 40, in considerable weariness and weakness; yet I understood afterwards, that it was not without a blessing to many. During the closing prayer, Messrs Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz arrived, who yet baptized two children. Early on the 26th of April, we again left, and arrived safely in Tulpehocken in the afternoon, which place Mr. Weiser, with his Indians, had already reached several hours before. About 10 o'clock of the 27th of April, Messrs Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz rode four miles further to church, for service preparatory to the holy Supper. They left me at home, however, to rest somewhat, and to meditate on my sermon for tomorrow. Early on April the 28th, we rode to church together, where we met uncommonly many people from far and near. Before preaching, Mr. Mühlenberg had preparatory service with a considerable number of people who were not present yesterday, and yet desired to partake of the Lord's Supper. After that Mr. Brunnholtz baptized a child, and then I preached on Matt. v. 6. After the sermon,

Mr. Mühlenberg made an exhortation to the communicants, and then Mr. Brunnholtz and myself administered the holy Supper to a great multitude of people. In all those exercises the people were very quiet and attentive, and at least outwardly devotional; all of them also remained to the close. At 4 o'clock we rode together two miles to a church recently built, where Mr. Kurtz had to preach, which the Herrnhuter had wished to appropriate to themselves by fraud.

Early on the 3d of May we traveled from Tulpehocken to Lancaster, where we arrived safely towards evening. May 5th, as the Sunday *Misericordias Domini*, of the old almanac, I preached here in Lancaster on the Gospel John x. 12, to an uncommonly large congregation. Before sermon, Mr. Brunnholtz baptized nine children. After service, the dear brethren, Messrs Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, remained in the church to speak with the congregation, and to elect a church council and new wardens, which lasted until two o'clock. In the afternoon Mr. Brunnholtz preached. In the afternoon of May the 6th, Mr. Mühlenberg made the proposal to me, in the name of the

congregation, whether I would for a time undertake to labor in this congregation, to which I consented, under the very wise written conditions presented to me, which I and the whole church council undersigned, and thereupon gave each other the right hand. May 7th I preached in Earltown, fourteen miles from Lancaster, on Acts v. 31, and assisted Mr. Brunnholtz in administering the holy Supper to a considerable number of communicants, after Mr. Mühlenberg had had preparatory service with them. In the afternoon we continued our journey, but on account of the rainy weather had to stop by the way, and thoroughly wet, we only arrived again in the afternoon of the 8th of May, in Providence. May 10th, I, with Mr. Brunnholtz, again left this place, and towards evening, thank God, we again safely arrived in Philadelphia. Early on the 12th of May, I rode to Germantown, where, as the people say, I preached to an extraordinarily large congregation of Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, and six negroes. On the 16th of May, on the arrival of Mr. Mühlenberg, who came day before yesterday evening, we mutually considered and agreed upon many things

which relate to the congregations and the exercise of our office. I cannot sufficiently thank the Lord our God, for these dear brethren and colleagues, who are of such advantage to me. This forenoon we were visited by the Swedish provost, Mr. Sandin, and in the afternoon Mr. Mühlenberg again departed. On the 17th of May, in the afternoon, we received a visit from the Presbyterian preacher, viz., Mr. Tennent, who is much beloved by us. The conversation was instructive, pleasant and kind. He remained here until late in the evening, and not without our great delight and edification. May 19th I preached in Philadelphia, both in the forenoon and afternoon, and baptized a child. Mr. Brunnholtz was in Germantown. On the 23d of May I set out on my journey to Lancaster, in company with Mr. Vigera, who, for my relief in external matters, goes with me for a time. On the 24th I had to baptize an English child at an English inn, by the way. After our arrival in Lancaster, I first of all called upon God for all I thought most necessary for us. This I did in my room, with the members of the church council and wardens, and the school-master, who had come to meet

us as far as the last stream. The remaining time was passed in edifying conversation on various topics. On the 26th of May, after the close of the forenoon service, the members of the congregation tarried, to whom the school-master read Messrs Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz's letter to the congregation, in relation to me. I then went before the altar, and addressed the whole congregation, had the twelve members of the church council come around the altar, read every article to them which they had subscribed to at their election, and again asked them if that was their intention still, and if they would abide by it? Whereupon, one after the other, having given me their hand, promised me to do all this with the help of God, whereto I heartily wished them much grace from God. After that I had the six wardens come before the altar. I set forth before them their special duties as wardens, and exhorted them to do all that which God should give them opportunity to do to advance his kingdom in our congregation. All of which they also promised me, with a clasp of their hands, and I wished them grace thereto. Finally, I closed with a prayer, wherein I

presented everything circumstantially to God. These exercises did not pass without emotion and tears. At 3 p. m., Mr. Schaum preached. Several persons from Earltown, from Beaver Creek, and Strasburg township, came to speak with me, whether I could also serve them with the word of God, and when, whom I informed as well as I could at present. At noon of May the 28th, I, together with Messrs Schaum and Vigera, rode to Yorktown, a place recently located on the other side of the Susquehanna, which is a very broad stream, and on account of the many rocks, a dangerous river. As soon as we had arrived in the evening, I informed myself of the circumstances and of the condition of the congregation. Early on the 29th of May, we were taken to several of the most respectable members of the congregation, with whom I had many things to consult upon. Thereupon I had notice given, that the members of the Lutheran congregation should meet this afternoon at 3 o'clock in our church, to confer with me concerning new wardens and elders, as the time of the former had already expired long ago. In the afternoon I stated our object to the assembled congregation,



and after singing and prayer, proceeded to the election of two new wardens and elders. They were elected by a plurality of votes, and as I had very heartily called upon God that he might direct the election, so also, perhaps, we could not have obtained any better than we did get. After that, several necessary matters were yet spoken of with the congregation. On the 30th of May, I conversed the whole forenoon with those who applied to me for the holy Supper, and whom, with the assistance of several of the best members of the congregation, I sought to examine, and to give to each one the necessary exhortation, according to the grace given from God. After this we went into the church, where there was an indescribable multitude of people of all kinds of sects, of whom many, on account of want of room, placed themselves around the church. Before Mr. Schaum's sermon, I baptized two children. After the sermon I presented the two new wardens and the two elders before the whole congregation, put them in mind of their duties, and prayed for them. Afterwards, I read to the congregation the *instrumentum vocationis* (the call) of Mr. Schaum to York, composed

by my dear brethren, Messrs Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, introduced him there, gave him, according to my apprehension, the most necessary admonition, and closed this act by prayer. Finally I invited those to come forward who were to be confirmed, of whom there were sixteen, and examined and confirmed them. They could still repeat the catechism tolerably well. In each principal article, I sought to press home to their hearts the most necessary doctrines. Kneeling, I in the name of all renewed the baptismal covenant by a prayer, wherein nearly all the people in the church prostrated themselves with us, and this also did not pass without tears and emotion. Between each of these acts mentioned, I had a suitable verse of familiar hymns sung. Towards evening, three wardens from Conewago, twenty miles further, on the borders of Maryland, announced themselves to take me to that place. According to the arrangement of my dear brethren, I was to see whether York and Conewago could not be united, and the worship of God be alternately attended to in these places by Mr. Schaum. Early on the 31st of May, many still as yet applied to me for the holy Supper. At 9.30

we went into the church in York. I delivered the preparatory discourse; afterwards we all kneeled, and after confession, I made a short prayer and absolved them. When Mr. Schaum had preached, I administered the holy Supper. In the afternoon, until late in the evening, we were much occupied with an old, deeply rooted matter in dispute, which, however, after much prayer and affectionate persuasion, was laid aside and wholly removed. To relate the matter would be far too lengthy. It certainly will make an impression, and occasion joy in the whole congregation, and so much the more, as much depends on the contending parties.

Early on the 1st of June, Mr. Viger, as also a warden from the congregation in York, one from Conewago, and I, rode to the last named place. As soon as we came into that region, we had the other wardens, who live from three to four miles apart, come together as soon as possible. One of them, however, who had hitherto taken sides with old Mr. Kraft, excused himself. When I noticed that there was a division in the congregation, and that Mr. Kraft was to preach to-morrow, I refused to preach for them. However, after much en-

treaty on their part, I promised it, on condition that it could be done by the approbation of all. We had all therefore to mount again, and although somewhat late, we rode four miles to the absent warden, who is regarded as of considerable respectability. When we came to him, I made known to him the nature of my business, and that our object was not to dispossess Mr. Kraft. Just when I interceded for him, that they should annually give him something certain, on account of his advanced age and other great infirmities, especially as a considerable part of their congregation had accepted of him by writing for one year, the old man himself entered the room. I immediately related to him the import of our conversation, and the particular reasons of our presence, but could obtain no suitable answer from him for our purpose but this, that it would be agreeable to him if I preached for him to-morrow, but to retire again from the congregation would be a disgrace to him, as many had accepted of him for one year as their regular preacher. Otherwise I spoke much with him of the importance of the teacher's office, and of the heavy responsibil-

ity of the preachers in their unfaithfulness and carnal purposes, to which he said not a word. On the 2d of June I preached in Conewago at the school-house, in the open air, whilst parson Kraft sat on my right at a small table, and a great multitude of people of all kinds of sects were gathered around us, among whom there was also a Moravian preacher. I also baptized two children, and thank God, everything passed off quietly and orderly. After service, to my surprise, old Mr. Kraft and the above mentioned warden showed themselves uncommonly courteous toward me. In the afternoon, escorted by several wardens, having meanwhile much conversation with each other, we returned, and in the evening arrived safely in York again. June 3d, I, together with Mr. Vigera, returned to Lancaster. On the 7th of June, seven persons from Earltown were with me, and very humbly requested a sermon on the 2d—Whitsuntide—which, however, notwithstanding their persevering entreaty, the church council of this place and the wardens refused. On the 15th of June the first church council in Lancaster was held, with the assistance of the wardens; and among other things,

it was enacted, that every four weeks, on Saturday afternoon, the twelve church councilmen and the six wardens should come together to me, and no one absent himself without urgent necessity. Every two weeks, on the contrary, only those who could and desired it, should meet. On the 16th of June I rode, together with six wardens and church councilmen, from Lancaster to Earltown, fourteen miles from this place, preached there, had a repetition and instruction, and talked of many things with the congregation concerning their future arrangements. The resolution of the church council of Lancaster, and the conditions under which they could also participate in my calling, was also made known to them by a writing previously examined in the church council. On the 22d of June I held the second session of the church council and of the wardens, wherein it was resolved, that after divine service tomorrow the congregation be requested to remain, that I might entreat them to give notice of those children and young people, of Lutheran parentage, who are at service with those of strange religious relations and sects, as we are bound to care for these poor children to

the utmost, and to hold them to the service of God, and to instruct them. Delegates from Earltown also were present in the church council, and brought along with them the consent of their congregation to the conditions enacted. Early on the 26th of June I rode to Earltown, where I spoke with the whole congregation in the church concerning the election of new wardens, and to the satisfaction of all, two very fine men were selected by a plurality of votes. After sermon I presented the two newly elected wardens before the congregation with prayer, and gave a charge to them concerning the duties resting upon them. I then invited the young people to come forward, and held a rehearsal and catechisation. On the 29th of June I held the third session of the church council here in Lancaster, wherein it was unanimously resolved, that once every week, two church councilmen and one warden should visit our daily increasing school with me. June 30th, between the morning and afternoon service, people who were sent by a small Lutheran congregation from Strasburg township, came and most earnestly entreated that I should indeed also care for their souls, to whom, how-

ever, I could not as yet give a certain answer, but many a necessary admonition.

On the 3d of July. Nyberg, who had been a Lutheran, and became a Moravian preacher, who occasioned so much division and irreparable injury here, removed from this place to Bethlehem. July the 7th, I had much to do with several people from Strasburg township, who would by no means take a refusal. Upon their many entreaties, I had at last to promise that after eight days I would visit them and preach for them. On the 9th of July I rode into the country to visit some people on their plantations, where I found sundry excellent people; and among others, a young man who was awakened on last Whitsuntide, gave me pleasure and a good hope that he would persevere in the good begun. July 19th I visited our school, which increases very much, and consists of English, Irish, Germans, Lutherans, and also of one Reformed, although one English and one German Reformed school are in this place. The people harass the school-master much with their children, all of whom it is impossible for him to receive or attend to. Early on the 24th of July I was taken to Stras-



burg township, fourteen miles from here, to preach and to take charge of the congregation of that place. I entreated the people very impressively, publicly and particularly, to spare me if they were not very earnestly concerned for their edification unto salvation, as I had more to do in two other congregations than I could well attend to, and the road to them was too far and entirely too fatiguing, as it was necessary to ride over a tolerably large stream, two pretty large rivulets, and several stony and marshy tracts of country.

On the 4th of August, the holy Supper was administered to 185 communicants, with whom preparatory service and confession were held yesterday and to-day. The number of these would yet have been far greater, if many, living in a disorderly manner, had not been turned away. In the afternoon, I had rehearsal and instruction. On the 6th of August, after a marriage sermon, I united in wedlock two fine people, of whom the man is Reformed; at which one of the principal Indian women was present, in her strange costume, and who conducted herself quietly and modestly all the time. For twelve days past, upwards of thirty

Indians are here on public business. August the 9th, as our school has almost daily increased for two months past, and it is impossible for our school-master to attend to and to superintend it, we were constrained to apply to Mr. Vigera for assistance, who was also found willing to take twenty-four of the children. He began this labor in the school on the 3d of July, and has continued it to this time, and not without a perceptible advantage; although it often became very burdensome to him, on account of much too little room, and the frequent very great heat. On the 12th of August, Mr. Schaum, with a justice of the peace, his landlord in York, came to visit me. We had much to say to each other about York, Conewago, and yet another place called Bermudian. Yet this evening delegated wardens from Conewago came, who in their letter to us very humbly asked for Mr. Schaum. On the 17th of August, a meeting of the church council was held, and three members of that body and one warden were chosen as delegates to attend the church dedication, the ordination of Mr. Kurtz, and the synod in Philadelphia. But the rest were at liberty, according to their external circum-

stances, to attend or not. In Earltown, a warden was also elected for this purpose. On the 21st of August, I set out for Philadelphia, and arrived there safely on the day following. Pastor Hartwick also came soon after. On the 23d of August, the most important questions of every part of theology were proposed to Mr. Kurtz, to be answered in writing. On the 24th of August, after the arrival of pastor Mühlenberg from Providence, he presented his written answer to all questions proposed to him, which we read through together, and examined them a little, and thereupon an oral examination of him was instituted. Afterwards, whatever was necessary in relation to Mr. Kurtz was talked over with the whole church council from Tulpehocken. On the 25th of August, about 10 o'clock, we preachers together with the church council, elders, and wardens of each congregation, proceeded to church by pairs. Mr. Mühlenberg consecrated the church recently erected in Philadelphia, which each preacher, kneeling around the altar, confirmed by a brief prayer. The sermon was delivered by me on the Gospel of the 10th Sunday after Trinity. After the sermon, Mr. Hart-

wick and I held the communion, in which we united preachers all participated. In the afternoon, Mr. Hartwick preached, and after his sermon, Mr. Kurtz was ordained. That which was necessary, Mr. Mühlenberg set before him affectingly and impressively, and thereupon, he, the Swedish provost, Mr. Sandin the Swedish preacher, Mr. Naessman, Mr. Hartwick, Mr. Brunnholtz, and myself, laid hands upon him, and then we all wished him much blessing from the Lord. On the 26th of August, Mr. Kurtz preached. After preaching, a synod was held, wherein everything passed orderly and peacefully, for which we cannot sufficiently thank God. On the 27th of August, I went with Mr. Mühlenberg from Philadelphia to Providence, and the day following from there to Lancaster.

On the 17th of September, a beginning was made in the preparation of the youth for the holy Supper. This was done publicly in the church, in presence of the church council, the wardens, the parents and masters, and some other people. All the children of the school had to be present also. First of all, I delivered a discourse on 2 Tim. iii. 15-17, and in the

application put five different questions to the hearts of the youth, which they all answered by audibly saying yes, and each one by striking hands. There are already twenty-eight young people, who all desire this preparation, among whom there are five who cannot, as yet, even read, and several of them live from six to nine miles from here, and are also mostly from eighteen to twenty years old. I then placed them before the church council, to examine them and their parents, and to point out to me that which was necessary for their best well-being. Now as they promised the church council and the wardens obedience and love, giving their hands on it, I instituted a short examination, spoke with the parents and masters, and then it was decreed that the youth should meet me twice a week for preparation. This act did not pass without a blessing and emotion. More, it seems, may be effected with the young people than with the old. They also manifest considerable industry in learning the most important passages which are given them. At instruction there are of people, large and small, generally some seventy, who give to me both joy and hope.

The Lord, my good and faithful God, must be praised by me here, and into all eternity, that he gives strength to me, the weak, and graciously supports me from week to week, and from one work to another. According to his mercy may he so continue, and that for which I implore him most, not to permit the work of my calling to be in vain, neither in my own nor in the souls entrusted to me, but let it lead to a true and eternally-abiding blessing, for the glory of his name!

JOHN FREDERICK HANDSCHUCH.

## CHAPTER VI.

FOURTH CONTINUATION OF THE REPORT OF SEVERAL EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS IN AMERICA, ESPECIALLY IN PENNSYLVANIA.—A REPORT OF THE MOST RECENT CIRCUMSTANCES—THE MISSION OF TWO NEW ASSISTANTS—WHAT WAS REPORTED IN THE LATEST LETTERS FROM PENNSYLVANIA—REMINISCENCES AGAINST COUNT VON ZINZENDORF, WHICH ARE SUBJOINED AS AN APPENDAGE.

ALTHOUGH it was promised in the preceding third continuation that this fourth should follow yet the same autumn, and that therein should be communicated the welcome intelligence from pastor Mühlenberg, of many edifying examples of various persons, now for the most part deceased, who were awakened to a concern for their souls' salvation, through the preaching of the word of God; many obstacles, however, coming between delayed the fulfilment of this promise on the one hand, and on the other this delay was also occasioned

by the expectation that yet, before the winter just passed, two new fellow-laborers should set out for Pennsylvania. For it was intended at the same time to communicate some information concerning these, but this matter being deferred from one time to another, so this continuation was in like manner, unperceived, delayed thereby.

§ 2. But now, that under many indications of the Divine providence, two new assistants are on the point of making ready for their departure, this article should be delayed no longer, wherein, first of all, in this section, some circumstances relating to them are to be noticed, and then to note that which is most necessary of the latest intelligence from Pennsylvania, which was received since last fall.

§ 3. As respects the first, when pastor Handschuch was sent in 1747, it did not please the Lord to indicate a second candidate, and to make him willing to accept the call. Therefore, although two were desired, he had to go alone. It was, however, easily foreseen even then that the preachers as well as the congregations would still further present their necessities and desire that more be sent. Now, although the



nearest want of some congregations was removed for the present by the commission of Messrs. Kurtz and Schaum as their regular preachers, it was manifest from the following letters of the preachers, that the labor in the congregations already supplied with preachers not only increased, but also that the desire arose in still more congregations likewise to participate in the instruction of the word of God.

§ 4. In the letters received during the last year, this, among other things, was ascertained and reported, that the preachers, especially pastors Brunnholtz and Handschuch, as their labor daily increased, needed help, on account of their bodily infirmities. Also, that various other forsaken congregations, which will be more fully noticed hereafter, applied to them anew, and requested that they might in part be supplied with preachers of their own, and in part visited by them occasionally, and be instructed in the word of God, and also that the holy Supper might be administered to them. Therefore they, viz., the preachers, entered in their name and in the name of the congregations that several new assistants might, by

the next opportunity, be chosen for them and sent over by Dr. and Prof. Franke, of Halle. This petition was also strongly seconded by the royal court preacher of Great Britain, Mr. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, who from the first interested himself for these Pennsylvania congregations with a laudable zeal and a special care, that first of all, two suitable laborers might be sent, to see meanwhile how far these would suffice for the present necessity.

§ 5. But the congregations, partly because they still had church debts to pay, and partly, also, on account of their own poverty, were not at present able to defray the expenses required for the voyage. This occasioned not a small trial. Dr. Franke did not like to leave the hitherto faithful laborers without help, and the sheep as yet straying without a shepherd to perish, on the one hand; and on the other, had not sufficient means in hand, upon which he could reckon to defray expenses. Something must therefore be ventured on the kind providence of the rich God, for whom it is a small thing to give whatever he sees necessary for the advancement of his kingdom; in the hope that his heart-controlling power would awaken

benevolent patrons, kindly to contribute something of their temporal blessings, for this exigency, that these new co-laborers may be sent in free, by such assistance.

§ 6. In this reliance upon God, the first step was taken in the matter, and it was earnestly thought of, that the two fellow-laborers longed for, might under divine guidance be found. For this purpose a number of theological candidates were proposed, among whom was Mr. Frederick Schulze, from Königsberg in Prussia, who had already, in the autumn of 1750, shown himself almost willing to follow the will and call of God to Pennsylvania, and to let himself be used there, as necessity might require.

§ 7. Now, in the meanwhile, when every effort was made in seeking for the second candidate also, the faithful God began to manifest his help, inasmuch as he awakened an unknown benefactress in Germany, to remit to the well-remembered court preacher Ziegenhagen, a generous contribution of 800 Rix dollars, for the advancement of the institutions in Pennsylvania; whereby, therefore, the anxiety concerning the expenses of the voyage was removed and such a wonderful and kind help

from God was acknowledged with so much the more humble thanks, as except this, there was nothing whereof that which was necessary could have been taken. His name be praised, that in this matter he did not permit his servants to hope for his aid in vain, and their faith to come to shame. May he also, as our Father in heaven, who seeth in secret, reward this unknown benefactress for such a liberal contribution, publicly and with an endless blessing.

§ 8. Now, although this providence of God conduced to renewed encouragement to think the more earnestly of the second candidate, and although there was no cessation in offering the call to this vineyard to those in whom we could have confidence, that they might be employed with advantage, yet some were prevented by their parents from accepting it, and others were unable to come to a conclusion thereto, by reason of their own circumstances. Whereupon not only the preceding autumn, but the winter also, passed without finding the second laborer. Yea, as so many difficulties presented themselves, and in the spring of the year still more occurred, the whole business

might almost have been given up for this year, under the impression that perhaps it might as yet not be the proper time, if new and urgent representations had not been made from England, that nevertheless the necessity required that yet this year some one be sent to Pennsylvania.

§ 9. In the meanwhile letters again arrived from Pennsylvania, in which pastor Brunnholtz reported that as his bodily constitution was feeble, it was too burdensome for him when he was frequently called to visit the sick in Germantown in the severest cold, or in stormy, rainy weather, or had a funeral there, or other official duties, and besides had to attend to his daily labors at home, in the congregation in Philadelphia; that both congregations, and especially that in Philadelphia, are dissatisfied if he does not himself preach every Sunday, and as he cannot do this in both places at the same time, he was obliged only to have a sermon read from a postil at the one place. Nevertheless, the congregation in Germantown was unwilling to part with him. But if a preacher were sent from Halle, and accepted as his adjunct, and lived in Germantown, preached

there regularly, and performed the other duties of a preacher in the congregation, and they occasionally exchanging pulpits with each other, they were ready to provide for his necessary support. The congregation in Philadelphia would also thereby be satisfied, as they frequently complain that they lose much by the Germantown congregation.

§ 10. Now, as the necessity of the speedy mission of the assistants was recognized anew, from this intelligence, and for this object prayer was further persevered in, God heard and graciously designated the second laborer in the person of John Dietrich Matthias Heintzelmann, born in Saltzwedel in Altenmarck, who, a few weeks ago, with the consent of his beloved parents, accepted the call offered to him, and now, together with the before mentioned Schulze, is about to enter upon the voyage to Pennsylvania. But that they may be prepared for all official duties as soon as they arrive in Pennsylvania, conformably to order, they will first be ordained.

§ 11. Both candidates studied in the university of this place, Mr. Schulze, however, before already for five years at Königsberg in

Prussia, where he was born, and educated in the celebrated Collegio Friedericiano, and in the institutions of the orphans' house, were still further prepared for the service of the Lord. As a superintendence of the orphans had been entrusted to both here, so they already with such opportunity became more intimately acquainted with each other, which in the future also will contribute not a little to their more intimate union in the Lord.

§ 12. Now, as from the above mentioned circumstances it appears, that first of all one of these new fellow-laborers must be accepted as the adjunct of pastor Brunnholtz—that pastor Handschuch also needs a co-laborer in his congregations, and as will be stated below, among other things, three new congregations wish for a preacher, and others desire that they may at least be visited sometimes ; it is easily foreseen, that these two are insufficient to meet every want. Now, as no more can be sent, it was rather left to the judgment of all the preachers, as to what arrangements and regulations they should make for the necessary relief of the preachers, as well as also that the new congregations may be served as much

as possible, by the frequent visits of their co-laborers, until it may please the Lord to send more faithful laborers into this harvest.

§ 13. The name of the Lord be praised, who indeed not under manifold trials only, but also certainly just as little, without many indications of his special government and providence, made these two candidates willing, first to give themselves to the Lord, and then to his servants, and according to their desire, permitted themselves to be sent where they can be employed for the spreading abroad of the kingdom of Christ. This also perhaps deserves especially to be noticed, as a proof of the strange divine guidance, that when we sought for the second candidate during half a year, and may perhaps also have thought of Mr. Heintzelmann several times, we did not suppose that he would so readily resolve to accept of this call, or obtain the consent of his beloved parents. In the meantime, nevertheless, the Lord in secret so prepared his heart for it, that he indeed did not feel a particular inclination to go there if the call should come to him, but latterly especially, he rather perceived more disinclination, but was more frequently re-



minded of it, that the call might reach him, which served to awaken him to call heartily upon God, that he would permit nothing to be done against his will; and thus, because the matter had already in his heart frequently passed through contest and prayer, after the call was actually given to him, and fell upon his heart as a very weighty matter, his resolution was perceptibly facilitated. From this we may learn that the Lord also there, where it pleases his wisdom to try his servants and children by delay in hearing their prayer, yet already in secret, as it were, makes preparation to fulfill the desire of their hearts.

§ 14. As for the rest, it is certainly to be regarded as a favor from God, and especially should it be acknowledged with due thankfulness by the congregations in Pennsylvania, that at this time yet, also, when worldly-minded people perhaps esteem nothing as more contemptible than to be so much concerned about the glory of God, as for its sake to leave one's native land, and undertake a voyage so distant, whilst so many hundreds of people, either from mere curiosity, or from an insatiable hunger after riches (the most miserable human pas-

sion), daily do the same thing. It is a divine favor, and should be an occasion of thankfulness, that God still prepares instruments, who, not from a want of interest in their native land and its advancement, but from a true obedience towards the will of God, and a hearty desire to assist in the promotion of his kingdom, deny their native land, and accept of the fatigue of the voyage and all the remaining circumstances. These, however, also lose nothing in fact, but have not only their bodily support, except which, at all events, man can have nothing of all the riches of this world, and which they can also just as well obtain from the faithful paternal hand of God, in another part of the world, and prepare for themselves a blessing for eternity, if in true faithfulness they seek to promote the glory of God and the salvation of mankind, until their happy end.

§ 15. We hereby awaken ourselves to call upon the Lord heartily, that he may also not only protect these messengers of the gospel, prepared and sent out by him, from all danger on their voyage, but also equip them with the necessary gifts of his Holy Spirit, that they may come to the congregations in the full blessing

of the gospel, for whose sake they renounced all the advantages of their native land, and that through their service in the Word of God many may be awakened from the sleep of security. Generally, however, we should call upon the Lord that the blessing of the Word of God may the more richly manifest itself in these congregations, as they before for so long a time were destitute of faithful teachers, and such had hitherto always to be sent to them, not without many difficulties. Besides, it now pleased the faithfulness of God graciously to impart that which was needed for the voyage of the new fellow laborers, by benevolent hands. Thus may he continue to grant that which is requisite, as well for the payment of the remaining church debts in Philadelphia, which makes it very difficult for the congregation there to provide for the necessary support of their teachers, and also present that which is needed for the other wants of all the congregations in Pennsylvania, and for the promotion of good institutions, and to this end further raise up kind benefactors for the glorification of his honor.

§ 16. As mention was already made of the

arrival of several more recent letters from Pennsylvania, it remains to communicate some intelligence from these in this section, concerning the principal circumstances in relation to the preachers and the congregations. Generally so much is manifest from them, that all the preachers, Messrs Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz and Handschuch, together with the two associates in office, Messrs. Kurtz and Schaum, are most cordially united in fraternal love, so that when they meet together they are refreshed by each other, and with affectionate love the one assists the other upon every opportunity, whereby their burdens and their cares are much alleviated.

§ 17. It is therein reported, that on the 18th of June, 1750, a meeting of all the preachers and wardens of the united congregations was again held, in which the congregations in Goschenhoppen, Indianfield, Perkasio, Macungie and Cohansey, also made application by several delegates, and desired that they might be received in communion with the others, and the preachers care for them, that they be provided with regular clergymen; but that those among them who are unable to support one of their

own, might occasionally be visited by the preachers and their assistants. The assembled preachers and wardens also promised them, that as much as possible they should be cared for. The first two, Goschenhoppen and Indianfield, were especially encouraged hereby, that pastor Mühlenberg would visit them as soon as he was able, and inquire to what extent they could be provided for. The congregation at Perkasio is also to be united with these, and the three constitute one parish. Hope was given to the congregation at Macungie, that a catechist, Mr. Schrenck, who had been accepted in Mr. Mühlenberg's out-parishes at Saccum and Upper Millford, should visit them now and then and preach for them, as it was as yet impossible to give them a preacher constantly. As respects the congregation at Cohansey, the fitness of their schoolmaster was first of all to be next investigated. Besides, it was proposed at this meeting, as necessity required it, that for the sake of good order, a superintendent be annually chosen over all the united congregations; whereto pastor Brunnholtz was appointed for this year, which also he could not refuse, although the wardens of

his congregation remonstrated against it, on account of his sickliness and his many other labors.

§ 18. In relation especially to the congregation in Philadelphia, and the congregation belonging thereto in Germantown, besides what has already been said, it is reported, that pastor Brunnholtz has been very infirm since July, 1749. And as he besides had several severe attacks, with which he has been visited in later times almost every year, he often otherwise had to keep his bed for several days, and could not always preach; which not only grieved him very much, as he would gladly attend to his office with all possible faithfulness, but also gave rise to some dissatisfaction with several in the congregation. Besides his naturally not very strong bodily constitution, which he also often felt with much inconvenience in Germany, his excessive labors in his office as preacher added not a little to his infirmity. May the faithful God, who has set this worthy man in the congregations in Pennsylvania for many a blessing, graciously restore to him the strength wasted unweariedly in his service, and yet long preserve him and the rest of the

preachers, in part feeble also, for the good of his church in Pennsylvania. May he also so strengthen them, that they may still be able, for the glorification of his holy name, and for the promotion of the eternal salvation of the members of the congregations entrusted to them, to labor for them with the proper activity.

§ 19. In this sickly condition of pastor Brunnholtz, the congregations nevertheless manifested a desire to have a regular sermon every Sunday at each place. As it hitherto could not be arranged otherwise than this, that pastor Brunnholtz had service one Sunday in Philadelphia, and on the other in Germantown, in the forenoon and afternoon, Mr. Schaum formerly, as long as he was in Philadelphia, attended to the worship of God at the other place, and after he took charge of the congregation in York, Mr. Vigera, the school teacher at the time in Philadelphia, read a sermon to them. This induced him to take on trial, for a time, as assistant or fellow-laborer, a certain theological candidate, who had come to Pennsylvania sometime ago, and whom he kindly took into his house, where he had opportunity to estab-

lish himself still more in the knowledge of the divine truths, until other assistants should come from Germany. After the arrival of these, said candidate could then either return again to Europe, or further, in one way or another, find his work in Pennsylvania, where, according to the foregoing, the harvest is great, but the laborers only few.

§ 20. In Philadelphia, the school is regularly kept by the before mentioned Mr. Vigera, in the house of pastor Brunnholtz, who also, as already noticed, in case of necessity, attends to divine service by reading an edifying sermon, and who has done many and useful services for all the preachers, since his residence in Pennsylvania. In Germantown there is likewise a regular school, in which the difficulties are much greater, because the members of the congregation are much scattered, and for the most part live out of town on the plantations, or on their cultivated property.

§ 21. Every Sunday afternoon, at the place where pastor Brunnholtz conducts divine service, public instruction is held, in which Luther's smaller catechism is reviewed with the smaller children; but the larger are led more



into the order of salvation, and the Bible, whereof a benefit also is expected for the sold domestics,\* of whom there are a great many in Philadelphia, and it is only wished that such poor people had small Bibles. During the week it is perhaps impossible to have such instruction, because the children from the tenth year are kept to work, and therefore cannot come together, except on Sundays and festival days. In both congregations a considerable number of young people were confirmed after a sufficient preparation, and for the first time admitted to the holy Supper. On Wednesday evening, if his strength permits, the pastor holds a prayer-meeting in his house. Otherwise the pastor is much humbled and grieved, on account of the sloth and security of the greater mass of the people, although there is considerable harmony observable among the members in both places, and they are also diligent in attending the public worship of God. Still the blessing also is not to be denied, which the Lord bestows to the preaching of his Word,

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\* Germans and others who were compelled to earn their passage money after they arrived in this country, by working for persons who paid it for them to the ship captains.

although often for a season the greater part of it remains hidden from the eyes of his servants.

§ 22. In relation to the debt for the building of the church in Philadelphia, it is known from the previous article, that in April, 1749, it amounted to more than 2,820 Rix dollars according to German money, for which the congregation had annually to pay about 170 Rix dollars interest. However, as yet in 1749, 48 pounds Pennsylvania, or 176 Rix dollars, were paid on the principal. But on the contrary, in 1750 it was finally resolved actually to build the gallery, for a long time already thought necessary. We must wait for further information as to whether this was done by this time, and whether the debts were not thereby again increased. In like manner the pews of the church in Germantown, together with a sacristy, were to be built, and already stipulated for, at 56 pounds Pennsylvania, or something over 205 Rix dollars, which the congregation would endeavor to raise among themselves. On the contrary, it is probable that nothing could have been paid on their church debts; at least there is nothing reported to this effect.

§ 23. In relation to pastor Mühlenberg and

his congregations in Providence and New Hanover, he was on a journey to Albany in New York, in August, 1750, when the first of the recent letters from Pennsylvania left; consequently there were no letters from him at that time, and in January, 1751, when the last letter was dated, on account of the rough weather and the bad roads, opportunity was wanting between Providence and Philadelphia; therefore no letters could have been expected from him at the latter place, prior to the sailing of the vessels. No special information can therefore be communicated at this time, of him and his congregations, except the little before mentioned, of a recently accepted catechist in several out-parishes; which deficiency, however will be compensated, in the next following section—the commencement of his edifying report, of the most remarkable circumstances of his official transactions, from the beginning among congregations in Pennsylvania.

§ 24. From pastor Handschuch, in Lancaster, on the contrary, more ample intelligence has been received. But as hereafter a copious extract from it may be communicated, it suffices for the present, if we only make the state-

ment generally, that since May, 1748, in which month, he entered upon his office there, he has exercised it not without a perceptible blessing. To the praise of the Lord it must be acknowledged also, that the power of God in the preaching of his word has abundantly revealed itself in the hearts of the hearers, so that many have been awakened to an anxious concern for the salvation of their souls, as well as also generally, that a noticeable improvement has taken place in the external order of the whole congregation.

§ 25. Of parson Kurtz, in Tulpehocken, as well as of parson Schaum, in York, the other preachers report—that the congregations are as yet well satisfied with them and as they grow in experience and wisdom, they labor in them with ever increasing blessing. The congregation of the latter is multiplying, since the town of York has become a county-town. A congregation at Conewago, 20 English miles from York, also united with it, and is visited every four weeks by Mr. Schaum, and edified by a sermon. On the contrary, there is a disorderly old German preacher, who otherwise occasions him much disquiet and disturbance in this

neighborhood, as he knowingly acted contrary to the laws of the country, was arrested, and lost his plantation or estate.

§ 26. Some years ago already, a candidate of theology, born in Hanau, Mr. John Albert Weygand, and who had studied at the university at Halle, was taken along with a company of colonists as their preacher, who left the Palatinate for Pennsylvania, and came with them to Philadelphia. But as it is the custom of the so-called Newlanders, to promise the people whom they persuade to go to Pennsylvania many more advantages than they can obtain when they arrive in America, they, for the most part, find themselves placed in sorrowful circumstances. Thus, also, it is wont to be no better with the preachers than with the rest, whom the Newlanders are glad to take along with them for this reason, viz., that they may procure the more colonists. For as the most of such colonists are unable to pay for their passage, they must be satisfied to be sold as servants or domestics, and consequently be scattered here and there on the plantations, and of course such preachers be left without a congregation. This, then was the situation in

which Mr. Weygand saw himself placed, after his arrival in Pennsylvania. As he had accepted the call given him by these people with a good intention and purpose, the preachers also received him the rather in cordial love retained him for some time, and employed him in their office for their relief, when he manifested all faithfulness in the instruction of the youth and in preaching.

§ 27. Now, when instead of the two expected new preachers, only one arrived, and besides the congregations to which Messrs. Kurtz and Schaum were assigned, there was yet another congregation, in the province of West New Jersey, at Readingstown (or, as it is commonly called, Raritan), which applied to the ministerium of the united congregations of Pennsylvania, and requested that they might assist them to a regular preacher. Thus the before mentioned Mr. Weygand was sent to that place, in the autumn of 1748, as was done before at different times by Messrs. Kurtz and Schaum, to serve them by preaching and the instruction of the youth, until it should appear, whether a God-pleasing order could be introduced among them, and a preacher of their own given them.

§ 28. Now, when Mr. Weygand had remained two years in the congregation, and labored with much profit and blessing with both old and young, they desired to have him for their regular preacher. All the preachers, therefore, of the united ministerium of Pennsylvania, assembled themselves at their request, on the first Sunday of Advent, 1750, in the new stone church, built by the congregation, consecrated it by the word of God and prayer, for the use of the worship of God; and at the same time, after previous examination and a reciprocal religious obligation, the said Mr. Weygand was ordained, as regular teacher and preacher of this congregation, consisting of several different congregations.

§ 29. Thus much we had to communicate for this time, of the united German congregations in Pennsylvania, to which there is a little more to be added, viz., that during the past year three preachers were also sent to Pennsylvania, from Sweden, for the Swedish congregations, Messrs. Acrelius, Unander and Perlin, of whom the first is provost in the place of the deceased Mr. Sandin. These have from the beginning manifested much friendship for

the German preachers, and seek to unite themselves with them, for the same object, as they also were advised in their instructions from the Archbishop himself in Sweden; which also will still contribute not a little to the promotion of the general edification, as experience has already taught, that the confidence which obtained from the beginning, between the German and the Swedish preachers, has resulted in much advantage to the congregations of both. Otherwise we have understood concerning Mr. Nyberg, the former preacher in Lancaster, sent from Sweden, who went over to the Herrnhuter sect, that he was willing to go to Europe, probably to the Count von Zinzendorf.

§ 30. We might herewith fully close this first section, if we had not yet to add the present appendix, and in it, (more on account of the promptings of some good friends, than the importance to us of the matter itself,) make a little reminiscence in several interspersed erroneous representations by Count von Zinzendorf, in a book ΠΕΡΙ ΦΑΥΤΟΥ, or Natural Reflections, concerning the congregations in Pennsylvania, as much as relates to the preachers sent out from Halle.



§ 31. In the first place, we cannot sufficiently wonder that the Count, in the ninth article of said book, page 143, Num. 63, also reckons among his applied *officia*, or efforts for a solid, or fundamental investigation, a "Remonstrance to the inspector of the bookstore at Halle, concerning the printed calumnies of Mühlenberg," with this addition, "Not answered." When in the letter received from Marienborn, dated May 29th, 1745, under the name of a certain John Jacob Müller, which without doubt is the so-called Remonstrance, no other explanation is to be found than this: "That if we in Halle are interested in historical truth, and were willing to compromise on the decision of the estimable society *de propaganda cognitione Christi*, in London, the Count *incontinenti*, (*i. e.*, upon the spot,) would show, that the report found there concerning him and the Moravian brethren, is false in all its circumstances.

§ 32. We briefly remark here, that first of all, so much less doubt could remain of the historical truth of that which was cited in the first article of this report, both in the author and the inspector of the bookstore in which it was published, as its accuracy, besides other

credible proofs, rests upon the investigation and the verdict of the regular city government in Philadelphia. Besides it is known, that the very estimable society *de propaganda cognitione Christi*, in London, stands in no connection whatever with the congregations in Pennsylvania; consequently it is by no means the forum in which the correctness or incorrectness of the historical truth of that which relates to the Count von Zinzendorf, in our report of the congregations in Pennsylvania, could have been announced, investigated and decided. Now as all this cannot be unknown to the Count himself, no one can find fault with us, that said letter remained unanswered. But if the Count had been able to show the least untruth, he would have done it, without waiting for our compromise, and can do it yet, where and as he will, if it is only done fundamentally and in a suitable manner.

§ 33. The other place in which many erroneous representations concerning these congregations occur, is in the tenth article of the book indicated, from page 206 to 215. We cannot enter into the details, nor at all delay ourselves with several inaccuracies, in acces-

sary circumstances, but only touch upon such as are of importance. \

§ 34. It is needless to inquire whether the Count von Zinzendorf received any call, sent to Germany from his adherents among the German Lutherans, to come to Pennsylvania to be their parson and inspector, admitting it has no semblance of probability, as he himself alleges, that he had not the least correspondence with Pennsylvania, prior to his arrival there. This, however, is hard to reconcile herewith, that he himself shortly before alleged, how the residence a year ago of the beloved Bishop Nitschmann, the Reverened father of the dear Anna (as he is pleased to call her,) and of Lady Molther, of Seydewitz, had contributed most to the attainment of his object before his arrival, and without whom, his going there would have been of no effect at all. This much is certain, that neither all the Lutherans, nor yet the greater part of them, fully united themselves with his party after his arrival, but only some individual Lutherans whom he actually drew over to his side, among whom was one warden, who put the Lutheran church book into his hands, which, however, the city

authorities enjoined him to return again. A manifest proof this, that he had nothing at all, by which he could in any measure make his call as a Lutheran preacher to Philadelphia probable, of which, nevertheless, he would make so much show.

§ 35. On the contrary, about the year 1733, the whole Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia, already applied to the court preacher Ziegenhagen, in London, and to Dr. Franke, in Halle, and imploringly entreated for capable teachers and preachers, and as it could not immediately be complied with, they several times repeated their request, until pastor Mühlberg was sent by them, and towards the close of the year 1742, arrived in Philadelphia. Consequently, as long as their petition was continued for a preacher from Halle, they could not for the time, without dishonesty, have to do with a stranger, who came even without a call. And since some individual members did this, it is rather to be ascribed to the persuasion of the Count, and his previously sent adherents, and they may be excused on account of the doubt arising whether the preacher whom they desired would yet come, than re-

garded as a proof in favor of the Count, that he was the *ordinarius loci*—the regular teacher of the place, who had accepted of this office upon a tearful call, after a strict examination of the unanimity of those making the request, whereof directly the opposite appears from the above, and was confirmed by the judicial verdict of the city government. For if the Count could only have shown that the greater part of the Lutherans in Philadelphia had accepted of him as their preacher, they could not have ordered him to restore the church book.

§ 36. Now, as the Count von Zinzendorf cannot even show his regular call, as preacher of the Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia, and inspector in Pennsylvania, it is incomprehensible how he and his adherents can boast themselves of a *Furis prioritatis*, or a right of priority which, if it depended on this, must incontestably be on the side of the preacher from Halle, who was longed for, expected, and still anew desired many years before. Much less can the Count represent the Lutherans in Pennsylvania (under him as their pretended pastor and inspector, and prior to the arrival of pastor Mühlenberg), as a quiet, orderly, and

fully awakened society, in harmony with all their associates, in love and peace, and describe pastor Mühlenberg as a stranger, who had come into such a quiet body unannounced, sought for himself adherents everywhere, who ran to him from their regular teachers (the Count and his followers). And how can the Count accuse those, who sent him, after such manifold entreaties, that they sent persons to disturb the legitimate teachers (which the Count pretends himself and followers to be), and who thereby created a schisma, or division? And where did Mr. Mühlenberg seek an office with the people subordinated or subjected to his pretended consistory? He never sought for this, and the greater part of the wardens and members of the congregation at whose desire he was sent, immediately accepted of him as their lawful and regularly called preacher. Except some few, they did not consider the Count their preacher, nor recognize his consistory.

§ 37. But as the three congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, applied for a preacher from Halle at the same time, so all the three also accepted of him, and

as appears from the first article of this report, he at first exercised his office in the three places, by many fatiguing journeys.

§ 38. But how the above description of his quiet denomination agreeing with all their associates in love and peace, is it to be reconciled with the event which transpired with Mr. Pyrläus (who is not a Lutheran but a Zinzendorfer preacher, which certainly was not without violence and many a collision, in June 1742, consequently not half a year before pastor Mühlenberg's arrival), is left to the judgment of every impartial reader. It consisted in this, that the Reformed who used a rented meeting-house in common with the Lutherans, tore the said Pyrläus down from the pulpit, and dragged him out of the church, not because he preached too legally, but because he, without key, otherwise forcibly entered this meeting-house, and would preach in it against the will of the lawful proprietors.

§ 39. In the meanwhile, when the Count would assert to have had the peaceable possession by such an alleged quiet organization, which he pretended to, as regular Lutheran preacher in the congregation in Philadelphia,

the occurrence mentioned is a proof, that the proprietors of the union meeting-house did not recognize him as such, as they refused the key thereto, to his preacher Pyrläus, and opposed his violent intrusion with violence; and the party of the Count, or of Mr. Pyrläus, were also refused by the authorities, and their right to the meeting-house denied. Hence the allegation that the Reformed most humbly asked his pardon is a mere fiction. Otherwise it would be altogether incomprehensible, wherefore, although they had most humbly apologized, they should yet have been accused by the Count's party as disturbers of the peace before the authorities, who would not have investigated the matter of their own accord.

§ 40. Now, although in these acts of violence which transpired, not without offence, the Lutherans took as little part as possible, still in their place they did not give up their rights, but sufficiently asserted them before the city authorities, by the injunction repeatedly obtained, that the Count should restore their church-book. As meanwhile, the Count himself attributes these acts of violence to the Reformed, it is inconceivable how he could



call Mr. Mühlenberg's Lutherans, the faction that tore Mr. Pyrläus from the pulpit, and therefore denominated Mr. Mühlenberg the chief, the head, and the leader of this faction.

§ 41. But for the rest the Count had also to give Mr. Mühlenberg this testimony ; that his conduct for himself was none of the worst, and that he used more moderation and discretion than was expected of him, when he, in a conversation with the Count, in the presence of his adherents, was forced to upraid the Count with his falsehoods, frauds, misleadings of the people, intrusion, and such like. This is an acknowledgment whereby his Christian and temperate presence of mind, had to be admitted by the opponents themselves.

§ 42. But he was instructed neither from Halle nor from London, to set forth such accusations and characterizings of the Count, but he was forced by circumstances to censure the conscience of the Count, and to make his confession. And as he did this in a manner so uncommonly simple and moderate, that the Count even wondered, and believed that his object seemed to require more, it is manifest to every one that he did not act in this matter

from affectation, and that his object had not been to characterize and to accuse the Count, but only to confess the truth. That which he had to say to the Count in this company, of his habit and readiness in such conduct, he had no need to hear from those who sent him, as they had him with them for a short time only, and so speak as it were out of their mouths, although they were not without many examples of all the points here cited. He knew to speak of this matter from his own experience, as he was in the preacher's office for a considerable time, so very near Herrnhut, at Grosshennersdorf, and had opportunity of a near view of all that transpired in the institutions established by the Count.

§ 43. What besides Mr. Mühlenberg was reproached with, in the exercise of his office, is, that he administered the Lord's Supper to those people, to whom they (*i. e.*, the Count's party) ought to have administered it, but which they could not do, and thereby directly freed them from the people, who would have plagued them to death. By this it is intended to accuse him, that he did not use due earnestness in preventing the unworthy from coming to the

holy Supper. Of this the opposite is manifest from the reports of his official transactions, and it is clearly seen what pains he as well as his colleagues took, to obtain information concerning the life and conduct of those who were not as yet sufficiently known to them, to instruct the ignorant, and especially to have them understand what constitutes true worthiness for the holy Supper,—to keep back the profligate and open sinners, until their amendment, and to labor with them for their conviction and conversion, and also to take care that the publicly given offence was settled by the congregation in an edifying manner, before their admission.

§ 44. What is elsewhere alleged, that the wardens of Philadelphia had said, their inspector (meaning the Count), had built the church for them gratuitously, and therefore they did not need any further collection thereto, needs no refutation. That the Count built a church gratuitously, *i. e.*, out of the Saviour's treasury, for his adherents, and not for the Lutherans, these owe him no thanks. But that the said wardens should have said, they believed that Mr. Mühlenberg was sent, not so

much from love to them, as from jealousy of the Count and his adherents, they effectively refuted by their joyful acceptance, and by their repeated written and oral attestation of their thankfulness for the favor thereby shown them.

§ 45. Whatever else is interspersed concerning the Swedes must have reference to that which transpired with Mr. Nyberg, some years afterwards, and is circumstantially related in the third continuation. From a close comparison of this narration, conformable to the truth, and demonstrable in all points, the errors will be easily detected in that which the count has produced. We hereby only note the following:

1. That the congregation which Mr. Nyberg formerly had, was not Swedish but German, of whom only some few remained with him, after he went over to the side of the Count. From the time that he publicly acknowledged himself of the Count's party, the most of them would not even recognize him any more, as their preacher, consequently it was not at all necessary, that pastor Mühlenberg should have written to Synod, to compel them to a withdrawal from the communion of the Count and his party, who also could not call themselves

Mr. Mühlenberg's predecessors. 2. Generally, whatever is falsely said of those Swedish preachers who were ordained in Stockholm, that they alleged that they were instructed by the Archbishop, that the Zinzendorfer brethren are pure in faith, but on the contrary, that the preachers who have since then come from Germany, and their constituents, or those who sent them, were erroneous in doctrine, was only Mr. Nyberg's allegation, which the rest of the Swedish preachers in Pennsylvania, as well as the theologians in Sweden, contradicted in writing and in deed. 3. That the latter had no information of all this, and therefore were necessitated to have pasquils come from Germany, for the purpose of putting a doubt on the question asked, not by Mr. Mühlenberg, but by the Swedish wardens, and indeed, upon the provocation of Mr. Nyberg, is a defamation of these very worthy men, which is without a probability, even, as it is against the respect due to them to call their testimony a pitiable testimonial, and allege that it is full of evident falsehoods. 4. Whether this testimonial was subscribed to by Mr. Mühlenberg, and how expressed, we are not particularly in-

formed. 5. In the testimonial mentioned several times, there is nothing said of Evangelical Lutheran preachers, but of Mr. Nyberg, who was manifestly an adherent of the Count von Zinzendorf, but whether he belonged to the Moravian or Lutheran company of the brotherhood, and whether the Lord's Supper is not even given by him to a Moravian brother, is not the question here.

§ 46. Finally, we cannot pass unnoticed the fact, that it is a very grave accusation of the blessed theologians of Halle, when the adherents of the Count call themselves their genuine and legitimate followers, for which they would never acknowledge them, as they with such great earnestness insisted upon a true and earnest repentance, but these (the adherents of the Count) only scoffed at this order of God, not to mention other evidently great deviations.

§ 47. Everything that is contained in the answer of the so-called Lutheran consistory, in Philadelphia (the Count understands by this, his adherents), wherewith he concludes his *Pennsylvanica*, falls away for the reasons above cited. Therefore we shall no longer detain ourselves therewith, as besides this re-

miniscence became somewhat diffuse, contrary to our intention and expectation.

§ 48. Whoever compares the whole connection of that which transpired with the Count von Zinzendorf, in Pennsylvania, with the little that is here cited, in relation to the German Lutherans, cannot avoid regarding these congregations, according to all circumstances, right worthy of pity, with still greater compassion, because they were brought into still greater trouble by him and his adherents. For so many years the poor people were without regular instruction in the word of God, the children grew up without information concerning God and divine things, yea, in part without baptism, and wolves and hirelings also were not wanting in this spiritual wilderness. On the one hand the scattered sheep were overcome by diverse sects, or at least driven around, and on the other, preachers and schoolmasters, who were degraded in Germany, or other persons who were of not much account at home, when they came to Pennsylvania, set themselves up for preachers, and occasioned much injury among them. It is easily imagined that such persons were very little con-

cerned about showing the hearers the right way and instructing them, and that their disorderly conduct must only have conduced to scandals. At last the Count von Zinzendorf yet came thereto, who, where the confusion and disorder was still not sufficiently great, entirely confused and disordered everything.

§ 49. Is it not, therefore, an adorable mercy and grace of God, that he again so paternally cared for these poor congregations, and granted them such faithful teachers, who with great denial, without greed of reward, and with indescribable trouble and labor, gathered the scattered flock again, led them into the clean pasture of the word of God, instructed their children and had them instructed, and by word and conduct sought and still seek to win and save their souls, and upon whose work the Lord has also already placed many a true blessing, which in eternity they will find again? Yea, it is plainly perceived from all this, that the Lord as yet has thoughts of peace towards these congregations, and would establish his work among them. Now, although this had at first to commence in a small way, and under many trials, and is still continued under many



difficulties; nevertheless it has already considerably advanced, and may, if the Lord will further grant his blessing thereto, still gradually extend itself, ever more gloriously.

§ 50. But now is still the time of affliction, in which the ruined walls of this Zion must be built amid many difficulties. Various congregations long to have a preacher of their own, but are not in a condition to support him. For, as there is no church property or old charitable institutions extant to pay the preachers, the support for preachers and school-masters can be raised in no other way than this, that the members of the congregation contribute this from their own means, which, however, is too burdensome for them, where the congregations are small and many poor people among them. Although most of the inhabitants raise so much that they and theirs need suffer no want in what they eat and drink, yet they cannot readily convert provisions into money, especially when they are far from the city. As money is very scarce in the whole country, of course they can spare but little out of their families, applicable to teachers, churches, and schools. Others could, perhaps,

although not without difficulty, support a preacher in case of necessity. But as all the preachers must be sent in from Germany, they cannot defray the great expenses required for such a long voyage, not to mention that faithful laborers, who do not seek the wool but the sheep, are very rare even in Germany; and, besides, the circumstances of every one do not permit the acceptance of a call into such a distant land. Now, even if a congregation is provided with a preacher for the present, and new laborers could not still be sent afterwards into this vineyard, such a congregation would yet not be permanently cared for, but if he was removed by death, they would be just as forsaken as they were before. In Germany it is understood much too little what a favor of God it is that each village, or at least several contiguous places, have their own preacher, and if one dies they can get another without great expense; and, in addition, the salary is taken from old charitable institutions, so that those now living need contribute very little thereto.

§ 51. But the congregation in Philadelphia especially is not as yet in such circumstances

that they, without the contributions of liberal benefactors, could be placed in such a condition as to see themselves and their successors provided for permanently. The same is, indeed, perhaps, the most numerous congregation; but a very large part consists of such poor sold domestics, who have yet to serve for some time to pay for their passage, and who, after they have paid for the same by their labor, and acquired something for themselves, must see to it that they purchase a plantation for themselves further up the country on which they may support themselves, and thus it almost constantly remains the poorest congregation in the whole country. Besides, they are yet nearly 3000 Rix dollars in debt for the church which they built, for which they must pay a heavy interest; which, as is readily perceived, is a great burden to them in maintaining their preacher. It would therefore be desirable that, first of all, this poor congregation should further be made glad with a contribution from the liberal hand of God, which could be applied for the extinction of this debt, as the preservation and continuance of the arrangements here made, exert a great

influence on all the other congregations, since Philadelphia is the principal city, in which also all strangers first arrive. In time God will also give them the ability to build the requisite dwellings for preacher and school-teacher, who must still live in rented habitations.

§ 52. Of laying the foundation of a sure endowment for the future maintenance of churches and schools, and the teachers in the same; and also for sending them over from Germany, could not as yet be thought of; and before all, we were entirely satisfied with the kind providence of God, which has hitherto graciously cared for the present necessity. He, the faithful God, who has begun to help, will, as is hoped, further manifest his aid. As there are so many poor people as well in the congregation in Philadelphia as in other congregations, it is not a little grief to the preachers that they are not even in a condition to keep the quite poor children free at school. The schoolmasters have no other support than that derived from the schools, and can scarcely live from it, as most of the children are employed by the parents in field work and otherwise during the summer, and are only

kept at school in winter. For the education of poor, forsaken orphans, means are likewise wanting, and everywhere the condition of the congregations is so constituted as it is possible with such as are first brought into order.

§ 53. Now, although it cannot be denied, that there are also rich people among the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, still the most of those who possess this world's goods have gone over to the party of the Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sects ; which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that these poor people had no regular teachers for so many years. But as the Quakers had from the beginning been the lord-proprietors of the land, these parties have the upper hand in it, and whoever would attain to importance, finds no better opportunity than to go over to their side. One and another German of the sects, who found no true rest for their souls among them, have indeed again left them. But true concern for the soul seldom comes readily into the hearts of those who have everything in the world which they wish for, but generally first finds room with the poor. Under such circumstances, the rich inhabitants of the country

are the very least to be reckoned upon ; although some respectable and wealthy members of the congregations have already honestly contributed their part, like many of the poor also, according to their ability, yea, have exerted themselves beyond their ability.

§ 54. All hope, therefore, rests upon the merciful God alone, who is rich over all who call upon him, that as he has given his gracious blessing hitherto in spiritual things to the preaching of his word in these congregations, he will also liberally bestow the temporal blessing required, for the continuation of that which was begun by his aid. And as he holds the hearts of mankind in his hands, and can lead them as the waterbrooks, it is a very small thing for him to awaken one or another who considers the condition of these congregations to a tender compassion in their behalf, and make him willing to give of his temporal riches a voluntary contribution according to his ability, for the promotion of the good institutions of which a beginning has already been made.

§ 55. Those who have been benefactors hitherto, who have opened their hearts and their hands towards their poor brethren in the

faith, in the new world, may see from these reports, that their generous gifts were not uselessly applied, and that much more was already accomplished for the welfare of these congregations than could at first have been hoped for or expected. In less than ten years, seven faithful laborers were sent out from Halle into this harvest, viz., Mr. Mühlenberg, Mr. Brunnholtz, besides his two traveling companions, Messrs. Kurtz and Schaum, sent as catechists, and afterwards ordained as preachers, Mr. Handschuch, and those new co-laborers now on their voyage, Messrs. Heintzelmann and Schultze. The eighth, Mr. Weigand, the Lord led to that place in a different manner. Of several churches, some were newly built, and some repaired and enlarged. The principal church in Philadelphia and the church in Providence are new. The church in Germantown was enlarged. The church in New Hanover was fully completed, and a new schoolhouse founded. But besides this, the congregation in Readingstown erected a new stone church, whereto they, however, had received no contribution from the collections, but encumbered themselves with debt. And in some other

places, the congregations, which are in part only occasionally visited by the preachers, have at least prepared a house for meeting for divine service. From all of which so much is manifest, that those servants of God who have hitherto cared for these congregations, were not idle in providing for them, and the preachers also were not inactive in arranging with all diligence whatever pertains to external preparation. But that that also, which is surely the principal thing, the inward building up of the kingdom of God, was not neglected, one and another example has indeed been hitherto given in these reports. But in the following report of Mr. Mühlenberg, in the second section, and whatever he may communicate further in the subsequent continuations, a number of instances will be presented, from which it appears, that the salvation of souls was really the chief work of the preachers, and that God also granted his rich blessing thereto.

§ 56. Now, should some additional generous charitable contributions be placed in the hands of Dr. and Prof. Franke, in Halle, and the court-preacher, Ziegenhagen, in London, they will not fail to apply these faithfully also, and



make profit thereby for the glory of God and the best welfare of these congregations. First, a contribution would have to be made thereof to the congregation in Philadelphia, for the payment of their church debts; and next, it would have to be considered, that in case new laborers were again required, the expense of their voyage would have to be defrayed out of this.

§ 57. May God, who can do exceedingly more than we ask or understand, let his word ever run among these congregations with still increasing blessing and be glorified. And as he already, in another part of America, considerably distant from Pennsylvania, in Ebenezer, in Georgia, has planted, as a branch, a small number of Saltzburgers, exiled from their fatherland for religion's sake, which already, by its delightful fruits, refreshes those from far and near who rejoice in the word of God, thus, as he has begun to stretch out his hands in the remote wilderness, may he also continue his work begun among the German Lutherans (who, indeed, for the most part, went over to Pennsylvania not with the purest purpose), as they are now eager for his word, that not only

they and their descendants may be preserved in the true doctrine, according to the word of God and our symbolical books, but that it (viz., the pure doctrine) may also manifest its power among them for the kindling of a living faith, and for the radical change of the hearts of many, yea, of the most, and, if possible, of all and of every member of these congregations, that thus his honor also might be glorified in this region of America. Further, that thus other sects also may be convinced by their example that the doctrine of the Lutheran church by no means teaches that the people may continue in their profligacy, but is surely so constituted that by it the people are renewed in heart, and receive power for a holy life, if they do not resist the power of the word. Yea, that even the wild Indians and heathen also, as they were hitherto so greatly stumbled and offended by the lawless life of many who call themselves Christians, may also again see many true Christians among them, and through them be convinced of something better; yea, that a friendly disposition may thereby be produced in them towards Christianity, and some way be prepared beforehand, that if in the

future the Lord's will is to let the light of the gospel arise brighter for them, the message of peace may find the more access to them. His name be praised forever, and his glory fill all lands! Amen.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### 2. REPORT OF PASTOR MUHLENBERG'S OFFICIAL TRANSACTIONS HITHERTO.

#### *1. Beginning of report of his official transactions in which that which is most remarkable, from 1742 until 1746, is communicated.*

As at present, the outward preliminary preparation for building has ceased somewhat in the congregations entrusted to me in the country, I will, in childlike simplicity, report some little concerning my official transactions, and first notice several circumstances of the time when I was yet alone in office.

In the beginning, I met with a man in Philadelphia, who was born in L———. His wife related to me, that he had been addicted to excessive drink, card-playing, and dice in Germany, whereby they were so impoverished, that they were at last necessitated to seek the new world. He was disorderly enough in this country also, still, necessity compelled him to

apply himself to his trade. His external knowledge of Christianity was, as yet, considerable. He could read and write well, and repeat his catechism with the proof texts, and had knowledge both in the Bible and in the Augsburg Confession. But in the practice of the truths, he was very deficient. As great as was his readiness, at one time, to repeat the Divine truths, so great was it, at another, for cursing and jesting. He acknowledged, indeed, that he was a great sinner, but his righteousness consisted in this, that he did not deny his faith, and that he did not go over to the Herrnhuter sect, as others did at that time. Yea, his zeal had so provoked him against the Herrnhuter, that he even assailed them with reproachings and execrations. Now as I was generally instructed by my highly venerable fathers, that I should not unnecessarily have much to do with controversies, and also saw that under the circumstances, this would do more harm than good, I did not discuss any particular disputed questions in my sermons, but for the most part urged repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. I boldly declared to gross sinners that their

not joining the Zinzendorfer, did not constitute them children of God; steadfastness in their Protestant Lutheran doctrines of faith, according to the unaltered Augsburg Confession, is laudable and necessary, but they must also show by their life that a living faith was completed in them, *inter terrores conscientiae*, amidst the terrors of conscience. The before-mentioned man, indeed at first thought, that perhaps I might also be a secret Herrnhuter, because I did not use words of reproach against them; still he neglected no sermon, and heard with great attention. At length, he fell into a lingering disease, viz., dropsy, and was punished with that wherewith he had sinned. On such a sick-bed, he was, at first, very impatient, and had a great fear of death. But after the body was chastised for a considerable time, he ultimately attained to better thoughts. With sadness he remembered his sins from his youth up. The well known Doctor Zwiefler, who is a Zinzendorfer brother, attended him, and now and then desired to speak with him of his plan, but he would have nothing to do with it; still he said to me that he was sorry that he had been indiscreetly zealous against these people,

yet was glad also that he was preserved from their triflings. According to appearances, this man attained to a still deeper feeling of his fathomless ruin, and when he complained one day, that his sins, as a heavy burden, had become too heavy for him, I directed him to Jesus Christ, who bore the sins of the whole world, and consequently his sins also, together with several choice passages; as it seemed (I say seemed, as we see the surface only, but God looks upon the heart), he found permanent rest for his poor soul several days before his death. Believing, he was enabled to keep himself to the words: *But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.* Rom. v. 20. He was most humbly thankful towards the highly venerable fathers and benefactors in Europe, that they, next to God, sent help. The more the assurance of the grace of God, and of peace in Christ Jesus, increased in him, the more joyful he was to meet death, of which he would neither hear nor know anything before. On the evening before his death, as they stood around him and thought it was over, he began to sing with a loud voice: "Spread out both wings, O Jesus," etc. On the last day he

stretched forth his hands and called without ceasing: "Come, O death! thou brother of sleep," etc., "Oh, that I could yet this day quit the prison of this body," etc., until he at length gently passed away, at the age of some thirty years. The English Episcopalian wardens granted me permission to bury him in their churchyard, as ours was not yet ready. If God plucked this poor soul as a brand from the fire, his holy name must have the praise!

In the year 1744, a widow lived in New Hanover whose husband was one of those wardens who first petitioned for a preacher and for help to our dear fathers, but who died before my arrival. These married people had many children, to whom the father, however, had permitted too much liberty and self-will, so that the mother was unable to train them all in the fear of the Lord, according to her desire, as they were already grown up and were proud of the liberty of the country. She herself conducted herself as a true widow; hoped in God, and continued in prayer day and night, admonished her children with many tears, corrected them according to ability, as much as they were willing to be corrected. She need-



lessly neglected no sermon, and each time heard the word of God amid the shedding of many tears. Several of her daughters humbled themselves, and walk in her footsteps, as they are joined in marriage to godly men, who aid herein as much as possible. The most of the sons follow their sinful ways, involve themselves in misfortune, and scoff at the word of God and good institutions. The widow was with me several times, and wept bitterly over herself and her children. I gave her the necessary instruction. At length the Lord laid her on a bed of sickness, and worked powerfully in her soul by his Spirit and word. The most of her conversation was concerning her deep misery, and the exceeding grace and mercy of God in Christ Jesus. After she had also manifested a longing desire for the Holy Supper, and was refreshed thereby, she stretched out her hands towards her Saviour, and expired with great courage, amid singing and prayer. She desired for our highly venerable fathers, and all other dear benefactors in Europe, many thousandfold blessings for their aid, and bade them good night ! The Lord let her memory remain with us in blessing.

A man in New Hanover, P. B., who had studied commerce in Germany, lost all his property on the voyage, and had to maintain himself in the country here wearily, and in a scanty manner, was my first fellow traveler, who accompanied me from Philadelphia to New Hanover. He led a Christian, quiet life, heard the word of God diligently, and at home edified himself with Arndt's "True Christianity." He often testified to his inward joy, that God thought him worthy, to live to see some order yet in the congregation. Otherwise he was already afflicted for some years with an asthmatic affection, dry cough, and breast complaint, which, with other afflictions, led him still nearer to God. In his youth he enjoyed good instruction, which was of advantage to him, so that he could give a reason for the hope that was in him. Towards other sects he was circumspect and peaceable, and sought to be neighborly with every one, yet so to live as to give away nothing of love and truth. At length his malady increased, and his end seemed approaching. I was with him a few days before his death, and inquired strictly after his righteousness, wherewith he expected

to stand before God, because I secretly feared that something of self-righteousness might cleave to him. But he answered with earnest countenance, that he knew nothing in the whole world, much less in himself, that had interceded or could intercede for him before God and his most holy judgment, except the only sufficient, precious, invaluable ransom, viz., the blood of Jesus Christ, in which, as the very greatest sinner on earth, he had and would still more inwrap himself in faith, and of this no death nor devil could rob him. In reference to the righteousness of life, he found therein, on his part, numberless deficiencies and errors; but he believed that his Intercessor with the Father in heaven had blotted all out and cast them into the depths of the sea for the sake of his promise. Burdensome as it was wont to be when the asthma increased, and breathing became difficult, he still continued for several days and nights in great patience, and with Christian calmness, looking to his Saviour, and with prayer and supplication committed his poor spirit into his hands, after he had lived somewhat over fifty years. When he was yet living, he charged me in his name most humbly to

thank all the high patrons and benefactors in Europe.

Seven miles from Philadelphia there was an aged woman, whose husband, G. H., lived in Halle in the beginning of this century, where he indeed experienced something of the workings of the grace of God in his heart; but on account of his unfaithfulness attained to no entire change of heart, and afterwards betook himself to separation. He came into this country already many years ago, and joined himself with those of like mind with himself. The children whom they had in Germany were baptized, but those born in this country were for the most part grown up, and not as yet baptized. The before-mentioned woman still had some glimmering of faith which she had received in Germany, but did not dare to say anything because she was palsied and lame, both in her hands and feet; and besides, her husband exercised a rigid rule over her. Subsequently the eldest daughter was married to a pious Hamburger, from the congregation in Philadelphia. He did not rest until the remaining children were baptized also. The mother secretly encouraged the children to request

baptism. Finally the father permitted them to be baptized, but of the Lord's Supper he would know nothing. The children comforted themselves herewith, that they would partake of it when they attained their majority, and, according to the English law, the father had no more control over them. The poor mother did not dare to move herself at all, could not come to church, yet in the last few years she heard several funeral discourses, which I delivered in her neighborhood. Finally a severe sickness overtook her, and when she noticed that her end was approaching, she threw off restraint, and said in the presence of her husband and her children, that she would wait no longer for the holy Supper, that she had long enough suffered hunger and thirst after it, and sighed almost eighteen years: *Oh! how my soul hungers, friend of man, after thy goodness, etc.* I was to come to her, but was so far away up the country, that I only reached her house in two days. During this time she lay wholly exhausted, as if in the last extremity, so that it was thought she would die every moment. When I arrived, she wholly revived, raised herself up, lifted her eyes to God, and with

sadness complained of herself before him, as his lost sheep. She knew how to present before God his promises in Christ Jesus, and to enter into them. I cannot decribe with pen how eagerly, fervently, attentively, wakefully and trustingly this starving soul partook of the holy Supper. If she was unable to raise her lame hands, so much the more she lifted up her heart and stammering tongue when she had received it, and with me prayed the twenty-third Psalm. Afterwards her desire increased to be speedily set free and to be with Christ, that she, with David, according to the seventeenth Psalm, might be satisfied with his likeness, whom not seeing, she here loved in weakness and in imperfection. The Lord also soon hastened home with her, and permitted her with joy to come out of this vale of misery, unto himself in heaven, after an exile of somewhat more than fifty years. My worthy colleague, Brunnholtz, won the husband, so that he is now a zealous member of the Germantown congregation, and in many things gives a helping hand.

There was a man in Providence, J. N., who most sincerely rejoiced over the good begin-

ning in erecting the church, and unwearily put his hand to the building, and encouraged others. In Germany he was given to drunkenness, but in this country he led a sober and honorable life, took pleasure in God's word and edifying books, and therefore obtained a fine, solid understanding, although in a rough exterior. It was with him as with the illiterate patient, who feels his sickness and the operation of the medicine, but cannot tell where the cause of the disease is located and retards convalescence. He was affected by almost every sermon, felt his ruin, and heard of the good physician Jesus Christ, but did not know how to adapt himself properly in the matter. At length he became very sick, and learned to know himself as a great sinner, and came to Christ weary and heavy laden and found rest. The less time he had, the more earnestness he manifested in true repentance, without suffering himself to be delayed, and went into eternity with the beautiful verse 1 Tim. i. 15 : *This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners*, etc. This love for church and schools he at last yet exhibited herein, that he be-

queathed £50 Pennsylvania money, to our church in Providence, which however, could not be obtained until after the death of his wife.

In New Hanover, there was an aged married woman, who may have burdened her conscience not a little with gross sins. In hearing the word of God, it seemed as if something of a knowledge of sin, of repentance and sorrow for it, and a hunger and thirst after righteousness, were there, as she was seldom present at preaching without tears. But she had no long time to hear, for the Lord laid her on a bed of sickness. Although I had spoken with her several times before, I had no opportunity to be present at her death, as it was my week in Philadelphia. Those who were present at her death, assured me afterwards, that on the day she died, she unceasingly lifted up her hands and called out: "*I will not let thee go, except thou bless me ;*" and that with these words she passed away: "I will not let thee go, Lord, and thou also wilt not forsake me!"

An aged widow in Philadelphia rejoiced heartily, that she could again hear the word of God in her mother tongue. Although she was



palsied, and trembled in every limb, she but seldom neglected a sermon, and permitted a strong man to lead her in and out of the church. She said that she had come into this country long years ago with her husband, and found nothing of their divine service, but were as if forsaken. Her husband therefore learned the Swedish language, that he might attend divine service with the Swedes, as they from the beginning had been supplied with preachers. She, however, was unable to learn this language, and therefore had to remain without instruction also. The prayers which she had learned in her tender youth, she had sought to gather up again, and supported herself with these. "Oh! how often," she said, "have I thought of Germany, where they have spiritual food in abundance, and are so little thankful." The short rhymed prayer: *Christ's blood and his righteousness*, etc., she would not part with for all the treasures of the world, because she obtained great comfort from it during many years. She was simple and childlike, contributed her widow's mite for church building, and said: "If our fathers and patrons in Europe manifest so much love and mercy to us poor

and forsaken people, I will give my mite also ; God will not despise it." At length, God took her home in peace, after she had been visited once more by my worthy colleague, Mr. Brunnholtz, who also afterwards buried her.

Our old praying Hannah in New Hanover, of whom something was said in our first narration, also ultimately fell asleep praying. She was long already dead unto the world, and would know of nothing else, than to kiss her crucified Saviour. Her age was nearly ninety years.

A young married woman of thirty, in said New Hanover, who had an earthly-minded husband, lived in a mill, and sighed amid the tumult of the world, was awakened, so that she entered into herself, saw her ruin, and hungered and thirsted after the righteousness of Christ. She thought that she, with the woman who was a sinner (Luke vii.), had cast her sins upon Christ, and obtained forgiveness from him, together with the sealing of the Holy Ghost. She spoke of death with pleasure, and was wont to say : *She was like a bride, who waited for the bridegroom*, and if she remained in the world and its confusion, she

might perhaps lose her first love and grow cold. She lived five English miles from the church, yet did not readily neglect the meeting. When she went home from the church, on the way she frequently went into the forest alone, bowed her knees and prayed fervently. When asked for the reason, she answered: When she heard the word of God in the congregation, her heart became filled with hunger and thirst for Jesus; then, when she could pour out her heart's desire in silence, she received power from the Lord Jesus, to stand against her spiritual foes and their seductions. My dear colleague, Mr. Brunnholtz, once had an edifying conversation with her, and rejoiced very much that he met with so fine a soul, in the rough and wild thickets. She represented to herself the day of her death as a bridal day, and chose for her funeral text, Psalm xvi. 6, *The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.* At length she also speedily attained her wished-for desire, and died in peace, and was enabled to say: I know that in Jesus' blood and wounds, etc., from the hymn: Who knows how near to me is mine end, etc. As both English and

Germans followed to the grave, I preached in English on Job xix. 25, *For I know that my Redeemer liveth*, etc.; and for the Germans I preached from her chosen text.

The wife of a church warden in Providence had much care and trouble with worldly matters, but desisted therefrom half a year before her death, and concerned herself about the one thing needful. She was more fervent in prayer, in her heart she considered the sermons better than before, and heard with tears. Her husband read diligently for her at home, from Arndt's True Christianity, and from her conduct testified that a real change had taken place in her. She had chosen for her funeral text, Lamentations v. 16, *The crown is fallen from our head: woe unto us that we have sinned!* The husband lives near the Mennonite meeting-house, and had formerly assisted in constructing their church-yard, on which he had in part laid his family, and wished, therefore, to have his wife buried there also. A great many had assembled at the funeral, as all sects go to funerals, as they say, for the sake of the universal love. After we had interred the dead, I desired to preach under a tree, on

account of the great heat. But the three Mennonite preachers present came to me and said that I should preach in their roomy meeting-house. I answered that as under our gracious king's government all parties who acknowledge a Supreme Being are tolerated in this country, I would not disturb them in their liberty and occasion consequences. But they were unceasing in their petition, and said that I should not despise their house. I thought that they perhaps might the more willingly receive the word if I fulfilled their desire. On entering, the oldest preacher whispered to me that I, however, should use no strange ceremonies, whom I answered that I would make use of no other than the usages of my Evangelical Lutheran Church. After the conclusion of the sermon, the old man apologized, and said that I should forgive him for his speech; he had not known what ceremonies we used. With tearful eyes they all thanked me that I had sounded the trumpet of repentance, as they called it, in their house. I afterwards had to preach four times in the same house on funeral occasions, distant from our congregation. The preachers were present each time, and said that their

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souls were awakened and blessed, and also requested good friendship and good neighborhood. In these sermons I did not discuss the points in dispute between us, but proclaimed repentance, faith, and godliness, which we all, without exception, need most and before all.

In New Hanover, a lad of ten years, came out of the school of our dear co-laborer Wm. Vigera, and was suddenly taken sick. Shortly before his death, he asked for the New Testament, and opened at the beautiful passage, John iii. 16, *For God so loved the world*, etc., read it over several times, and said: "Dear mother, with this verse I will go to heaven: Since God has so loved me as to give his only begotten Son, I cannot be lost," etc. Shortly after he joyfully died.

Another lad of six years, whose father feared God from his heart, lay sick. Before he died, he called his father to his bed, and said: "My dear father, I am going out of this wicked world into heaven, where my dearest Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and all holy angels dwell. There I will forever praise and glorify my dear God, who created me, and redeemed and sanctified me. Remain pious, my dear father; be dili-

gent in prayer, continue to love the Lord Jesus and his word, then will he also soon take you to that beautiful place." After he had spoken thus, he requested that his father might yet sing with him a verse of a beautiful hymn. With a weeping heart the father sang, and the child fell asleep.

A gray head in the New Hanover congregation bowed itself unto death. This man had many cares on account of arrangements with his children. I first removed these out of the way and composed his last will. Afterwards we had much to do with the only sufficient righteousness which is valid before God, and self-righteousness that is a filthy garment. I often think of the words of our pious fathers: We are *ministri gratiæ*, and not *magistri*, i. e., servants, not masters of grace. We present the means of grace, pray to God for help and blessing, and as for the rest, observe how the Spirit of God works by these, and what the hinderances are which stand in the way. This old man, according to his confession, did not wish to die otherwise than trusting to the blood and death of Jesus as a poor sinner, and in himself worthy of condemnation. During

the last years, his life had been Christian-like and quiet, and he had great pleasure and delight in the word of God. In his testament he bequeathed £5 of our money to our church, which the heirs carefully paid.

A young married woman lived scarcely one and a half years with her husband, when she fell into a severe sickness, which gradually wasted her away. During her illness, she attained to a salutary knowledge and sense of sin, was repentant and sorry on account of them generally, and especially for one sin, which she had committed in Germany, and which she revealed to the assistant, Mr. Kurtz, who visited her in my absence. With her weary and heavy-laden heart, she was directed to him who received publicans and sinners; who sought for the hundredth sheep which was lost; who has promised to cast none out who come unto him, and who goes out to meet the prodigal on his return. Oh! shouldst thou see his heart, etc., from the hymn, My Saviour receiveth sinners, etc. From some signs we might conclude that the poor soul found the true foundation, where her faith and hope could anchor. She became tranquil and gave up her spirit.



A young man of thirty served us in the New Hanover congregation as leader of the choir. He sought and loved the one thing needful, therefore hated evil company, and would not follow the rude multitude, and on this account was scoffed at. But he had fallen into certain circumstances, which followed and injured him. He, with his aged father, had rented a piece of land, purchased the cattle necessary, and all this on credit. But as he was unfortunate with the cattle, he was unable to pay. The debts oppressed him very much, and are even not all paid as yet, after his death. If a countryman here, who begins empty-handed, is unlucky with his cattle, and gets into debt, he is sometimes troubled with it all his life. Said young man had hired himself as a furnace clerk, to a respectable Quaker and justice of the peace, where he might perhaps have paid off his debts, but would have been subjected to many temptations and seductions. He had, however, scarcely entered upon his office there, when, riding on a wagon, the horses started suddenly, overturned the wagon, and caused him a fatal fall. Early on Sunday he desired me to come to him at the house of his employer; but as I

could not put off the sermon in the congregation, I only arrived towards evening, and found him indeed fully in his right mind, but very near unto death. His friends and acquaintances stood around him and wept, on account of his fall. As soon as he saw me he also wept. I said that he must now in a moment appear before the judgment-seat of God, to receive as he had done in the body. Who could intercede for him, and how would he appear before it? Weeping, he said: "I have before now united myself in faith with my Intercessor; in weakness I have loved him, and know none other, neither in heaven nor upon earth, who has and who can mediate for me, but my Lord Jesus Christ. He will not enter into judgment with me." Afterwards I had all the people leave him, and yet spoke with him one thing and another concerning that which I thought necessary for him, and according to my weak understanding. I found that he was considerably collected in mind. He had a longing desire to partake of the holy Supper before he died, and said that the hunger and thirst after it had upheld him so long, or else he would already have died in the forenoon. In the

presence of many people of various opinions, he offered up a penitential prayer before God, and in it cast all his cares upon the Lord, partook of the holy Supper like a healthy person, after its reception prayed with me, and also sang with us in an audible voice the fourth verse of the hymn: Jesus, thy deep wounds, etc. Yes, for all that me doth grieve, and thy wounds give power, etc. When we had sung this verse, he adjusted himself and said: "Now I die in the Lord." We sung the last verse of the same hymn: If I have thee in my heart, thou fountain of all goodness, etc.; and in the midst of singing he fell asleep gently and happy. On account of his quiet life, his employer, and other Quakers also, loved him, and followed him to the grave, for whom I delivered an exhortation in the English language.

In the year of 1746, my wife's grandfather, the old Conrad Weiser, came to my house, who had lived in New York since 1710, and latterly on the borders of New England. The reasons of his coming to us were the following: First, it was very dangerous to live at his place, as in the present war times the French Indians, or savages from Canada, rove about

and kill the English subjects in a cruel manner. When a French Indian has murdered an English subject, he draws off the skin with the hair, which covers the skull of the slain, attaches it to a long pole, enters in triumph, and receives ten pounds in money as a reward for each scalp from the French government. Now as several Germans in his neighborhood had already been massacred, and were treated thus, he was unwilling to give his gray head into the hands of the savages. In the second place, he desired to see his children and his children's children once more, and to speak with me of the way of salvation. Thirdly, he desired to have his resting-place with us in Pennsylvania. He was so wearied by his long fatiguing journey and his great age, that he was nearly dead when brought to my house. After he had lain in bed for twenty-four hours and taken some nourishment, he revived again, and in half-broken words began to pray the hymn: "Soar up unto thy God," etc., and especially repeated the third verse: "Have I done aught that is amiss," etc. His eyes were very dim, his hearing lost, so that I could not speak much with him. But I could not listen

to him without tears of joy, how heartily he continually repeated the very strongest proof-texts, concerning the gracious reconciliation in Christ; as *e. g.*, "*Surely He hath borne our griefs,*" etc. "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation," etc., "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," "For God so loved the world," etc. To which he added the passages which specially relate to appropriation, viz.; "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden," etc. "Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out," etc., "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee," etc., "God be merciful to me a sinner!" The sixth verse of the hymn: "Who knows how near to me is my end," etc., "Oh! Father cover all my sins," etc. I had everything quieted around, so that he did not know or notice that any one was present, so that he alone and in spirit might hold converse with the omnipresent God. O how well it is if in youth we gather a treasure out of the living Word of God! Even if it does not instantly attain to vigor and bear fruit in practice, on account of various hindrances, still God remains faithful and does all things well in his

time. It seems to me that I had and saw a beautiful example in this soul how the Spirit of God is truly conjoined with the Word. It is a real joy when we see the old evangelical Lutheran truths become quickened in a soul. How sad, on the contrary, when persons from a desire for innovation, trample under foot as it were the old valuable treasures, and form new sects, which externally indeed seem somewhat more polished than the old mode, but in substance not to be compared with it. After the old man had again somewhat recovered his strength, we had several short edifying conversations. The subject each time related to two points, viz.: Our incomprehensibly deep ruin with which we are charged in the moral law, which is spiritual, and the inscrutably high grace of God in Christ Jesus, which is offered unto us in the gospel, and in a certain order, freely bestowed. Of both he made his confession in the first and in the second person, viz.: "Whither shall I flee," etc., "Oh! Jesus full of grace," etc., "With me are many sins, but with thee there is much forgiveness." He afterwards manifested a longing hunger and thirst for the holy Supper, and said that he had not par-

taken of it for several years on account of the want of preachers in his place. As it was Sunday, and several members of our congregation were with me before service, he made a confession of his sins, humbled himself before his Saviour as a poor worm worthy of condemnation; asked for grace and pardon, and for the Holy Spirit unto a better life, and was so edifying to all present that with him they were melted into tears. After he had received the holy Supper, he prayed the twenty-third Psalm with us, and refreshed himself with the hymn: "When my sins do grieve me," etc. The few days he yet tarried with us he employed for the edification of his soul by the Word of God, and did not weary in praying the hymn: "O thou Triune God whom I have chosen," etc. The fifth and sixth verses of this hymn he chose as his funeral text, and with the tenth verse he especially edified himself. In the meanwhile my father-in-law sent a wagon and a bed, had him brought to him fifty miles further up the country, and when he had blessed us, reached the place with great fatigue, and yet lived for a short time with his Joseph in Goshen, he at length fell asleep amid

the affectionate prayers and sighs of his children and children's children standing around him, after wandering on this pilgrimage between eighty and ninety years.

A man of the Reformed church, who kept school several miles from Providence, attended our meetings diligently, and on each occasion listened with attention, and also perceived in course of time, that more than the form or appearance of godliness was necessary for salvation. The good which was wrought in his soul by the Spirit of God, by means of his word, also had an influence upon his family. He gave his children and grandchildren whom he had with him, a good example, and kept them to prayer and in the fear of God. Several of his grandchildren died with dysentery, who with their little sighs of heart, and singular patience, edified and gave not a little joy to the neighbors. This is especially noticeable in the country, that we frequently observe very special and welcome signs of grace, when parents have anything good in them, and give evidence of it, and also take care of their young ingrafted branches, and water them with the word of God. An outward help thereto,



is, that the people do not live so near together as in towns and villages, and the children are not enticed so early by wicked examples, if they are not neglected. At length, this man was also overtaken by a severe sickness. One of our wardens in Providence, who lived near him, diligently visited the sick man, and spoke with him of the one thing needful. And as I had to bury one of his grand-children, the old man, who was lying very sick, requested me to preach the funeral sermon on the outside beneath his window, that he in the inside might hear and be edified. I did this, and expounded 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8, for the awakening of both those who were without and those who were within. And as the circumstances had permitted me beforehand to speak specially with the sick man, I inquired of him, whether he had much to do with the sickness itself, and with his bodily pains. Persons sometimes say: The anguish of my heart is great, and when we strictly inquire, the poor soul sleeps in sin and in security, and it is the natural feeling only which writhes and moans over the aches of the body. He answered: That his disease did not give him the least concern, even if the

body should molder into dust. Yea, he could say, that he did not even think of his pains, but set his thoughts on his undying soul and the important change impending. Judging from several incidents, I said to him, that he perhaps may shortly have to enter upon the great journey from time into eternity. He answered: "Ah! yes, I have a difficult journey before me to thee, into the heavenly paradise; there is my true fatherland, on which thou hast bestowed thy blood!" I said: "Since then the time is so short, and the change so near, heartily examine yourself, how you stand with God and his Son, the Judge of the living and of the dead. Are you a sinner?" He answered: "Alas! yes, I am the greatest sinner upon earth, and I have committed more sins, in thoughts, words, deeds, and omission of that which is good, than there is sand on the seashore." I inquired: "What is the cause?" He answered: "My unbelief." I asked: "Does the Spirit of God reprove you for this?" He answered: "Yea, I am convinced, that I did not believe, and of myself cannot as yet believe." I inquired further: "Where then do you wish to remain with your sins? do you desire to take them

with you into eternity?" And when he answered: "Oh! no, there is no sacrifice more for sin there," I said to him: "Then gather together your whole load of sin and cares, and in heartfelt prayer, weary and heavy laden, cast yourself with them at the feet of the great Redeemer of the world. By his wounds you also, as a contrite sinner, shall and can be purified and healed. Do you believe this?" With tearful eyes he answered: "*Lord, I believe; help thou my unbelief.* Lord, I believe, help me feeble one, yea, let me not despair," etc. As he was weak, and unable to converse much, we who were standing by kneeled, and presented his cares before the Lord, and inquired of him, whether his case was such? He answered, Yes, as a poor penitent sinful worm, he desired to abide by the sufficient atoning blood of his Jesus, and although with weak faith, yet thereon to live and to die. We sang: "Oh! Father cover all my sins with the merit of Jesus," etc. He afterwards lived yet a few days, and made good use of the promises of God, until he at length as we charitably hope, passed from faith to sight.

An aged man, and a member of the New

Hanover congregation, could not believe for a long time that he was *ἀσεβής*, or ungodly, as all men are by nature without the righteousness of Christ. Against this he knew how to cite many witnesses, both from Germany and this country, who knew him as an honest and peaceable man. But as he diligently gave heed to the sermons, and attended a meeting for edification, in which several examples from the Saltzburg and Malabar reports were read, and old forcible Lutheran hymns were explained, he gradually perceived that his honesty and his own garment of righteousness were insufficient. Still, he thought it might be impossible to attain to a better and more perfect righteousness. The excellent examples of Nicodemus, Paul, Mary Magdalene, the publican, and the prodigal son, he referred to the times which are past, and the experience of his preachers he ascribed to their calling and station. The more recent examples which were read he would rather have seen with his own eyes, than heard of from a distance. Yet the Lord, who loved his redeemed soul, granted grace, that he at length became poor in spirit, and gradually lost his false supports. He did

not know how to say much about it, still he lamented his condition, and began to hunger and to thirst after a better righteousness. He at last fell into a mortal sickness, and called to God and his Son for grace and pardon; and when I visited him in his sickness, and inquired of him whether he had nearly gotten the new garments of salvation ready, or whether he intended to appear before the most Holy God with his filthy garment? He answered, That now he knew of nothing more than the blood of Christ and his righteousness, that this should be his dress and robe of honor, wherewith he would stand before God and enter into heaven. With those standing by I prayed to God, presented his case in simplicity, and commended him to the mercy of his Redeemer. He said that the hymn which we sung last in the meeting, was always present to his mind during his illness, viz.: "Wherefore then should I grieve," etc. By day and by night, even when suffering the severest pain, this hymn sounded in his heart. He thought that he had a certain assurance of his state of grace, and that nothing more could separate him from the love of God in Christ Jesus. He desired that I might

be present at his departure, and see how happy and joyfully he would leave this world. "For," said he, "I must experience that which is contained in my hymn, verse seven: Intrepid and without a fear, must a Christian, where'er he is, still let himself appear, etc. Wherefore, I know that my Redeemer liveth, etc." With a confident heart he passed away a few days afterwards. I was in another congregation at the time, and therefore could not be present at his death. From love to our church and school, which are still somewhat in debt, he bequeathed £12 of our money in his last testament.

Two aged married people in New Hanover, who held to the congregation, were, according to their temperament, wholly melancholists, and devoted to the riches of this world and the cares of business. The thing had become such a habit with them, that all my trouble and labor with them seemed in vain. Withal, they were outwardly honorable, in business transactions sharp and accurate, in attendance upon the worship of God untiring, and their morning and evening prayer without intermission. It seems to me that such a temperament is the most fit to show forth the semblance of godli-

ness, and to deny its power. If you mention the points whereat the heart is especially sick, they have numberless replies, drawn partly from the Word of God and partly from reason, and in conclusion generally appeal to God, who trieth the heart and the reins. I, and the assistant, Mr. Kurtz, have several times spoken with them in love and earnestness, and held up the most necessary truths before them. They agreed with us in every important article of faith, and in respect to examination and appropriation, they had already experienced much, and promised, by the grace of God, to put the rest in practice also. But if we look for the signs which must necessarily follow repentance and faith in regeneration, matters now and then seem very deficient. According to their confession, they did not wish to die otherwise than as poor penitents, but through Christ pardoned and justified sinners. But it would be more comforting to us if we had perceived more and clearer tokens of a radical change of heart and repentance in them. Still I am, for my part, a poor creature, and deficient in judgment, and therefore often err on one side or the other. I find that in judging of the repent-

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ance of others, if we either go away too far beyond the common signs, which God the Judge of hearts has clearly revealed in his word, and judge others too strictly according to our own experience, or remain too far therefrom, and determine according to the feelings or more general signs, than God has given in his word, we sin in both instances, pronounce many happy who before God may be unblessed, and many unblessed who before God may be esteemed as happy. In funeral discourses we are careful and do not like to say more concerning the dead than that which we consider useful and edifying to those who are yet living. Oh! Lord, grant unto us thy spirit of wisdom, and let us continually learn to understand more fully what this means: Thou hast pleasure in mercy and not in sacrifice! Let thy thoughts become more and more our thoughts, so that we may not go into eternity with an erroneous system of our own thoughts. The man died and bequeathed a beautiful cloth for the altar; the woman died also, and gave £5 to be distributed among poor people.

An old man who lived with his family about twelve English miles from the New Hanover



church, among various sects, held to our congregation, and visited our meetings diligently whenever his infirmity, the weather, the roads, and the water permitted. But whenever he could not be present, he edified himself and his family at home with Arndt's True Christianity, Spener's Doctrine of Faith, and especially with the Holy Bible. In the intercourse I had with him, I observed in his life and conversation that God's word and the holy sacraments were dear to him. He died during the rough winter season, so that I could not well be with him and wait for his end. His family related to me that he had anticipated his death, perhaps a quarter of a year before, and had taken leave of his friends when he was last in church. He had, therefore, especially latterly, diligently and unceasingly prayed to his reconciled Father in Christ, that he would let him depart in peace, and also fell asleep amid prayers and sighs. I was called to his funeral, whereat not only many of the members of our scattered congregation, but also many English and German people of other religions and sects were present, who all testified that he had led a Christian and exemplary life among them.

A man of thirty-one years lived in New Hanover who held to the congregation, but was otherwise involved in extensive worldly business. He had the superintendence of a large tract of land, which belonged to certain merchants in Philadelphia, and which was leased to poor German people by the piece. The man was of pliant but volatile mind, and was otherwise benevolent and obliging to all who gave him a kind word. But the circumstances of his calling were such that nearly in every business transaction he had to be in some tavern, at auctions, or before the authorities. Now, when it is remembered how inclined nature is when left to itself, to be ensnared in all manner of sin by such opportunities, we can readily form an estimate of the Christianity of such a man. In the meanwhile, he neglected no meeting unnecessarily, but in later times did not come to the holy Supper from a sense of his unworthiness, as he, on account of his office, was at one time involved in a lawsuit, and at another fell into this and into that sin. As many sermons and funeral discourses as he heard, so many new resolutions he made to forsake the broad for the narrow way, to turn

from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. But the first opportunity drew the poor man on each occasion back again into his old sins. I now and then specially admonished him, when good promises on his part were never wanting. After some time he came to me and said with emotion of heart: "I perceive that everything in the world and in my heart is vanity. I have hitherto desired to be a great man, and in all things do as others do in company; in a word, I walked in the broad way, which leadeth to destruction. I will disencumber myself of everything, curtail my affairs, and turn to my gracious God in Christ with all my heart; although my associates may also scoff at me on this account and call me a preacher's fool." I answered him: This is again a new resolution, and it, like all which have gone before, if begun in reliance on your own strength, and not with prayer and earnest reliance upon the co-operative and all-sufficient grace and power of God and his Spirit, will also be dissipated by the first wind of temptation. If he would become a true disciple of Jesus and a child of salvation, there must be a radical change in him—in heart, mind, spirit,

thoughts and all the faculties. If this takes place by the grace of God, it will have an influence upon his outward calling, be it great or small." In reference to his employment I readily acknowledged that he might obtain some alleviation if he laid it aside, abridged it, and followed his profession. But repentance itself must nevertheless be wrought, in its order, by the Spirit of God and the means of grace, although confined in a chamber or a desert. It seems to me that the pretext concerning extensiveness of business is only a subterfuge to delay the things so needful. For he cannot give up his business until his year is up. Now if he would defer his repentance so long, many things, yea death itself, may intervene. If his motion is good, it is a drawing of the Father unto the Son. Now, although God does not draw with absolute power, still there is in this attraction so much and sufficient force that he is enabled to come from the power of Satan and of sin unto God, and from bondage unto perfect liberty in Christ if he does not willfully resist and let the Lord stretch out his hand to him in vain. It is, therefore, said: "*To-day if ye will hear his*

*voice,*" etc., and not to-morrow, or next year. I advised him in simplicity that he should enter into his chamber, where he could be alone, and complain concerning himself before him who seeth in secret, as he perceives himself to be and is convinced that he is. That he should pray to God in the name of Christ, that he should still convince him more by his spirit, of unbelief and of all the abominations of sins arising therefrom, so that he may learn to know sin as sin in its true form. God is faithful; he will show him how he is lying in his blood, and that there is no soundness in him from his head to the soles of his feet. He will be terrified with himself and attain to a salutary sorrow, which worketh a repentance to salvation which no one repenteth of. His sin-wounds will stink and fester from foolishness. There will arise in him a disgust and hatred of all sins, and a longing desire to be delivered from them. The drawing of the Father will still increase, and draw him with his whole load of sin, weary and heavy laden, unto Christ. With Christ he will find grace and pardon, deliverance from all sin, guilt, and punishment. He will receive the power and

privilege, not only to be called a child of God, but also actually to be such, and to walk consistently with his calling. If such a real change take place in him, the influence of it will soon be perceived in his outward vocation. If he had been in the past a diligent visitor of taverns, and made the company therein merry with jests and buffoonery, he will in future go neither more nor less into such houses than the necessities of his business require, and the hatred of and disgust with sin, but especially the Holy Spirit, will teach him, by his word, to reprove the evil at the proper time, either by words or with silence. If he had been a taskmaster before over the poor people, he will then be a father, assist the oppressed and secure the rights of widows and orphans. If he had many lawsuits before, he will then rather suffer wrong, and as much as possible have peace with all men. In a word, a true repentance shows its fruits in all actions and omissions. He replied: "Oh! yes, it would indeed be a blessed thing if this was effected in me!" I said, where there is no beginning, there also is no middle and no end. The indolent die whilst wishing. If he accom-

modates himself to order of repentance and faith, he will then himself discover whether he can retain his extensive business without detriment or not. When the mariner perceives that the storm will sink him, he casts the heaviest overboard that he may save his life, although with the loss of some possessions. Whether this word of exhortation fell upon good or stony ground, I cannot say with certainty. In a short time after the man was attacked by a contagious fever (yellow). I visited him, but he was very weak and was very much afraid of death, and desirous that I might ask of God for him a gracious respite unto life, that if he again recovered, he would be more faithful and give himself to God with his whole heart. It was truly a sorrowful sight, as he was unprepared, had a small troop of minor children, and his many accounts not in order. I pitied his soul, exhorted him, therefore, once more unto repentance, kneeled before his bed, offered up a penitential prayer, and asked of the long-suffering and just God whether he would have mercy and permit the tree to stand yet this year also. But on the day following he became speechless, and lay

dying for about twenty-four hours. I was called from my house during the night, and had to ride fifteen English miles in cold and rough weather and deep roads, so that on account of it I nearly fell ill myself. When I arrived I was unable to speak with him, as his outward senses had already partly failed. I exhorted all present to join me in prayer and to call upon the Lord for grace. I prepared his wife with the word of God willingly to accept of widowhood, and saw him die two hours afterwards. To-day thou livest; repent to-day! Before the morrow the change may come.

An aged widow in Providence was related to our warden, and abode with him for a time. The woman was old and feeble, and had nothing more to do in the world than to care for her soul. The warden, who leads an exemplary life with his wife and children, and willingly profits with the talent entrusted to him, diligently cared for the poor widow. He noticed that she still retained one and another habitual sin from her youth, and otherwise seemed generally estranged from the life of God. She, however, relied much on the prayers which



she had learnt in her youth. She attended church on Sundays, and was devotional at morning and evening prayers during the week, so that she was not easily approached. When at length she was on one occasion alone with the warden's children, and gave an offense to the innocent lambs, who yet stood in baptismal grace, as she jested with a penitential hymn, the innocent children complained of this to their father. The father therefore took the opportunity, in earnestness and in love, to disclose to the widow the rotten foundation of her heart, and to exhort her to true repentance. His and his wife's admonitions also did not remain unblessed, for it was noticeable in the woman that she gave better heed to the word of God, and became more earnest and ardent in prayer. She was entreated to turn to God with her whole heart, that her sins might be blotted out with the blood of Jesus, and be cast into the depths of the sea. At length she lay sick with the dysentery for fourteen days, and still had time and opportunity to commend her poor soul in penitential prayer to him who had purchased her with his blood. I was with her several times during her sick-

ness, and exhorted her penitently to acknowledge all her sins—to repent of them, and to seek grace and salvation in the free and open fountain for sin and uncleanness. On account of age, weakness, and illness, she was unable to converse much, but gave assurance that she would obey the exhortations, and not resist the operations of the Spirit of God. That which the deceased pastor, Raupach, of Hamburg, said, occurred to me here, viz.: that it is terrible to him, when people lie so secure and quiet in their last hours, and feel no terror or anguish of conscience, nor yet have a longing for assurance of their state of grace. He feared that it was with many according to the saying of David: *He shall go to the generation of his fathers; they shall never see light.* It is certainly more consoling and more safe, if we are already prepared before the last hour comes. But when this did not take place, and we still at last notice some weakness of the spirit, it is more comforting than when, we perceive nothing of either, but rather a secure dying away. At the departure of some persons, it is almost sorrowful and dangerous for the preacher—sorrowful when they

did not experience true repentance and faith in its beginning or its progression. Death is most painful for nature, and to avoid which, nature employs all other possible powers of body and soul. When we would here first recommend repentance and faith, it is apt to happen as it is written in Exodus vi. 9: Moses announced unto the children of Israel the strongest and most comforting promises, which he had just received from the loving lips of the Truth, and which were to serve them for encouragement and strength. *But they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.* It is dangerous also, because unconverted persons desire to be lulled into the eternal death-sleep, by the preachers, with sweet consolations not belonging to them. The aged widow died after a severe illness of two weeks, and prayed earnestly until she expired, after having lived between sixty and seventy years.

A reformed woman in New Hanover neglected no sermon in our meetings, and had her grown daughter instructed and confirmed in our congregation. Her son had been awakened unto that which is good, in Germany, and in

this country joined the Zinzendorfer, and would also very willingly have drawn his sister after him, but could not. The woman particularly loved edifying books and conversation. I provided her with a Halle hymn book, whence she appropriated several beautiful hymns for her edification. In later times, especially, she became very quiet, and it seemed that she had attained the precious endowment of womanhood, viz.: The hidden man of the heart incorruptible, with a meek and quiet spirit. Wherever she went or stood, she was wont to pray inwardly. She kept herself to him whom she did not see, as though she saw him. When on her death-bed, she would have no restoratives from the physicians of the body, because she, as she said, livingly experienced the consoling promises of the Bridegroom of her soul, and was supported therein by the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, so that she scarcely felt any sickness or bodily pain, and from this vale of tears, with a confident heart, she entered into the joys of her Lord. In the last hour she remembered me in her prayer, wished me a thousand-fold blessing and a good-night, and also to have me told in the words of the six-

teenth Psalm: *The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places ; yea, I have a goodly heritage.* On these words I also preached her funeral sermon with pleasure.

A man between forty and fifty years, who, together with his father and brother, had been for a time with the well-known Dippel in Germany, and came into this country, fell from one sect to another, and when at length he was also done with the Gichtelians, he believed nothing more, lived in an ungodly manner, and also permitted his children to grow up like Indians. At length he came from up the country to visit his brother. I was in his brother's house just at the time, instructing a small number of young people, who were being prepared for confirmation and the holy Supper. The man became very sick, and laid himself in bed in the room in which the instruction was given. He heard our teaching. I spoke to him, and entreated him that he should yet seek grace with him who atoned for the sins of the world, and consequently for his sins also, made satisfaction therefor, received the publican and the sinner, and promised to cast none out who came to him ; and who sought the hundreth

sheep which was lost, etc. He said each and every time it was too late for him; if he recovered again, he would seek for grace and amend his life. I besought and admonished him that he should nevertheless take the certain instead of the uncertain, and not to think that it was too early or too late. But he stood by his old speech, and would have nothing further to do with me. I inquired whether he perhaps could permit it that I, together with the children, prayed to God for him for grace? He answered that I might do according to my pleasure as I would. I, together with the little company of young people, kneeled around his bed several times, and called upon the Lord that he might have mercy on the perplexed and obdurate sheep, for the sake of Jesus Christ! I thought I must obtain it by begging with barefaced entreaty; but he would not take part with us, and God would not draw him with absolute force. He persisted in this, that if he recovered again, there should be a change. He died a few days afterwards, when I was in the country.

An old man stricken in years, who according to his descent was called a Lutheran, lived

about fourteen English miles from New Hanover, on a tract of land in the mountains. A rich Irishman appropriated it, and drove the extremely poor man away, together with his family. The man knew not how to accommodate himself to the misfortune. He had neither heard nor read the word of God, but willfully walked in darkness like his neighbors, and fell into despair. In this miserable condition it occurred to him, that he should go down to the New Hanover church, and there hang himself; thus should he find rest, and be delivered from his calamity. He followed the thought, hastened down, borrowed a rope from a neighbor, and hanged himself to a tree opposite the church. The neighbor became alarmed, and after a little while went out of his house, and saw the poor man already hanging to the tree; but his resolution was quickly taken, and he cut the rope in haste. The man fell down, and lay for a time as dead, but at length revived again. The neighbor invited the man, and almost forced him against his will, to go with him to the school house to Mr. Kurtz, who still lived there. Mr. Kurtz examined him, and set before him the terrible endless judgment of God, which

inevitably follows suicide. The man had related the circumstances as before described, and said that no walk ever appeared to him so easy as the fourteen miles. Mr. Kurtz prayed with him, and thanked God, that he had once more delivered the poor sinner from the rude halter of Satan. After he had well considered, the man wept bitterly, and promised to ask for grace and forgiveness. He now goes to church occasionally, when his poverty, the weather and the roads permit.

Hereupon I will in simplicity report, whatever remarkable things transpired here and there, in my congregations and on my journeys.

In November, 1746, I was solicited to take a journey to Tulpehocken, as the congregation there, which we hitherto occasionally supplied, had long since entreated that I should administer the holy Supper to them. It is, indeed, difficult to administer the holy Supper in such congregations, where we cannot have the members in *cura speciali*, special care, and know the condition of each one somewhat more particularly. Still, we cannot well refuse. We examine the people strictly, set before them



both the law and the gospel, exhort them to repentance, faith and godliness, set forth the use of the Holy Sacrament, as Luther says, and seek to keep the conscience unburdened as much as God gives grace. In a word, we dig around and manure the old trees, plant and water, and ask God for the increase. In Tulpehocken I had confessional examination the day previous, and explained the fast-day text, according to which the members present were to examine themselves. Afterwards I recorded those who intended to commune, publicly read off their names, and asked the wardens and elders that on their conscience they should say whether they knew willful and deliberate sinners among those read off? They began to weep, and said the matter was too hard for them; they had enough to do with themselves, and thus each one should examine himself. I was satisfied with the answer, and said every one should then the more closely look upon himself, and before the all-seeing eye of God examine himself. I had understood beforehand that two of the number were addicted to the vice of drunkenness, and, therefore, took an old widow to account publicly and asked

whether she was still involved in this and other herewith associated sins, and intended to continue therein? The woman was speechless; but those related to her said that she had already abstained for some time, and by the grace of God formed a good resolution for amendment. An old man whom I had myself seen drunk on the road on several occasions, was also called up and exhorted to repentance. He replied that he had already abandoned excessive drinking for half a year. In earnestness and in love we represented to him that such a vice was a manifest fruit and token of his still unconverted heart, and how he might attain to grace and the forgiveness of all his sins and the sonship of God. But he became embittered, and said that now he would not come to the holy Supper, and went away displeased. The rest were diligently admonished that they should certainly not think that they were sufficiently worthy when they did not live in gross vice, but a heart truly penitent and hungering after grace was required thereto. We showed them, also, how to attain to it. At the close of the confessional examination we kneeled, confessed our sins, and

asked for pardon for the sake of Jesus Christ, and promised to follow the guidance of the good Spirit, and heard the absolution. On Sunday I preached on the proper use and utility of the holy Supper, administered it to two hundred communicants, and so far as I could observe there was good order outwardly, and reverence and devotion among the people. The Lord knoweth the heart!

In the month of December of said year, 1746, a great snow fell, and the winter began with such violence, that I could scarcely attend to the ordinary duties of my office. The snow was as deep as any I ever saw in the Hartz mountains, in Hanover, where the winters are generally pretty hard. In this month, prior to the snow, we sent the assistant, Mr. Kurtz, to the congregation at Raritan, or properly, Readingstown, that he should preach there, and keep school, as they were wholly destitute and forsaken. I had therefore to do without his assistance and aid in my extensive congregations and out-parishes. For the school I made the following arrangement: In Providence I retained our dear friend Viger in my house, and had him to instruct those children

who, notwithstanding the hard winter and deep roads, were able to come hither. With schools in the country, it is very inconvenient with such bad roads and rough weather, for the poor children have often to go two, three, and four English miles. The parents are, for the most part, poor, and often are unable to provide as many shoes and necessary clothes as the children need. We should at least have an establishment in each church—building and people also—that the children might be lodged, boarded, and superintended. But we as yet see no possibility of this, as we have not as yet even fully paid for the church building. As Mr. Kurtz is away, the congregation in New Hanover has accepted of a man as schoolmaster, who kept school in my house last year. This young man has hitherto given room to the Spirit of God to work in his soul, and gives the congregation a good example. May the Lord preserve his soul from the wiles of Satan. He has a good gift for singing, and a fine memory. Now, as the two small congregations in Saccum and Upper Milford, have hitherto had our service, but Mr. Kurtz being absent, I did not know how to help myself. It was im-

possible for me to attend to them, as I am becoming feeble, and once already nearly lost my life on my way thither, on account of the morass holes, which are yet passable by day, but are very dangerous by night. I resigned the two congregations, but they wept in part, as there are still hungry souls among them, and said that if we forsake them in their poverty, the Zinzendorfer would creep in among them, and pitch their tent there, as they are only from six to eight miles distant from Bethlehem, *i. e.*, those of the Saccum congregation. I did not, therefore, know how to help myself otherwise, than to instruct the above-named man somewhat, and have him commit to memory one of Rambach's catechetical sermons and repeat it in the congregations about every four weeks, and in case of necessity permit him to baptize, which we in our Evangelical church also permit others to do, although they are not ordained. Reading can scarcely be made practicable here, for the people are unwilling to come together with inconvenience, from several miles around, to hear reading. They say they can read at home. As far as possibility, strength and time

remain to me, I also visit the congregations and serve them with the holy Sacraments. The two congregations are pleased with the said schoolmaster, because he has hitherto walked consistently with his Christian calling, is edifying in his intercourse, cares for the children and diligently catechises them. I would have had to forsake these poor congregations altogether, if I had not been willing to send this man to them. As schoolmaster in New Hanover, he could not have had his support from the school-money alone, as he is without a trade, and school is only kept during the winter and spring, and there are also various poor people who cannot pay school-money. The congregation of that place, therefore, aids him somewhat, and has promised him £6 annually from the alms fund ; but thus the treasury remains unable to supply the other expenses required for repairing and for the preservation of the church and school buildings. Now, if the two above-mentioned congregations can also give him a little for his trouble, he will be the better enabled to subsist. If the gracious God would only aid us so far, that the orphan children of poor widows

and others could have school free, it would be a source of great joy to me. For it is very hard, when the congregations, whose members for the most part are beginners and poor people, must give all out of their means of living. Oh! what a great privilege herein have most of the congregations in Germany! God be thanked forever, we preachers are readily satisfied with extreme poverty, and gladly make it as easy for the congregations as possible; and all who are concerned for the truth, have hitherto been willing to give the last mite out of their livelihood for the extension of churches and schools, and say that they can never be sufficiently thankful for that which our highly venerable fathers, and so many worthy patrons in Europe, did for them and for their children.

*II. A letter from Pastor Mühlenberg to the court preacher, Ziegenhagen, in London, and to Doctor and Prof. Franke, in Halle, October 30th, 1746.*

HIGHLY VENERABLE FATHERS: The Lord has been with us hitherto. When we have felt our weakness and the heavy burden of our

office, he has been our sufficient strength and power. When we were afflicted, persecuted and sick, the Lord in his time refreshed and raised us up again. When through inexperience we did either too much or too little, the good Spirit of God corrected us. In a word, Jehovah has hitherto been our shepherd, and, on his part, we have wanted for nothing.

In relation to my official transactions, I recognize the goodness of God, and his long suffering, and the riches of his mercy to me. He has hitherto so preserved my strength that I have as yet neglected no sermon; although once in winter I fell from my horse on the ice, and in the autumn had the misfortune of my horse falling on me in visiting a sick woman in the night, yet the Lord preserved my limbs, and permitted no harm to befall me.

Our assistant, Mr. Kurtz, has also remained well, and was enabled to attend to his office diligently. During the winter, he instructed a considerable number of children in the school in New Hanover, and when he had to be absent, Mr. Vigera had the oversight of the school in his stead. In Providence I had school taught by a fine young man, and with good results.



When I and Mr. Kurtz were present in the congregations, each congregation had their regular service every Sunday. Mr. Kurtz preached on the five principal articles of the catechism, and afterwards catechised the youth. I generally preached half or three-fourths of an hour on the Gospel, and during the remaining time repeated the discourse from the pulpit in the way of question and answer, so that both old and young might the better comprehend and reflect on the matter.

In Providence I this year again prepared a fine small number for the holy Supper, and confirmed them amid many tears by the congregation present. Among the confirmants there were also married people, when we generally perceive a deeper impression and emotion in the congregation. Lastly, I confirmed an excellent married man; and his wife, who is a descendant of the Anabaptists, I baptized after sufficient instruction, together with their two children. In New Hanover the congregation is stronger, and I therefore instructed and confirmed a larger number there, among whom were five adults, children of a Lutheran father and of a Reformed mother, who lead a pious

life, and also admonish their children thereto. Besides, I also confirmed several married and neglected persons at that place.

When aged persons, or even children, die in the congregations, the people desire funeral sermons, and we readily accept such opportunities, because we can discuss important and edifying matters, and are enabled to approach near to those present, in the application ; especially as, from neighborly love, those also of other religious fellowship and opinions follow to the grave.

Formerly, there was but seldom a marriage where they did not make a dreadful noise, with drunkenness, racing, dancing, leaping, and such like. Now, when young persons in our congregation have a wedding, they wish for a bridal sermon, and desire us also to accompany them to the repast. In the beginning, we repeatedly admonished the congregations, that they should lay aside ungodly conduct and worldly lusts, in such important acts. But the customs were so deeply rooted, that they sometimes waited, until we had left, and then practiced their wantonness, but with a difference. I therefore, publicly announced, that we would

not permit such persons to come to the Lord's Supper, who commit such misdemeanors and engage in such pleasures; but esteem them as corrupt members, until they turn from darkness unto the light, and walk consistently with their calling. The children whom we confirmed, have for the most part as yet kept themselves separate, and preserved their hearts in chastity, although several were carried away by such opportunities, especially when the parents themselves did not maintain good discipline, and gave offence. We have already been present at several marriages, where we, during meal time, engaged in edifying conversation, and in singing spiritual hymns, especially when the parents of the young people fear God, and the wedding guests also have pleasure in that which is good. We indeed know well, that true repentance and faith begin within, in the heart, and must manifest themselves outwardly by their fruits, and that therefore one may still not be a Christian, although he does not dance, or swear, and outwardly leads an honorable life; but from such bad fruits we know, that the tree in root and stem is still good for nothing. Where we leave such vices un-

checked, many good souls will be offended, and unstable young people carried away by the stream. We have no other weapons against this than prayer, admonition, and separation from the holy Supper, and we experience thereby, how far the power of the word of God manifests itself. Whatever does not yield, separates itself. I was invited to several weddings, in the neighboring congregations, in charge of parson Andreã, where many of our young confirmed people were also present. Now, as the licentiousness was to begin after my absence, our young people fled, and went home.

During this year, I twice celebrated the holy Supper with the old, in each country congregation. In the congregation in Providence, I had on each occasion something over one hundred communicants; but in New Hanover, over two hundred and fifty. We celebrate the Lord's Supper in the following manner: every one who would receive the Sacrament must during the week previous come to the parsonage, or into the school house, and announce himself to the preacher. Now, whatever we learn from each member of the congregation, by this intercourse, or other circumstances, is noticed;

and as we have opportunity in recording the communicant, to converse with each one alone, we speak of the inward motive of the heart, inquire after the growth, and give the necessary admonition, encouragement and consolation, according to the necessity of the case. By such intercourse with them we obtain a knowledge of their internal and external condition, and perceive the connection between neighbors, parents, children and friends.

On Saturday before the communion, all who have made application must come to church for confession and preparation. For the preparatory service we choose a fast-day text, suitable to the circumstances existing at the time. In the application, without personalities, we divide the word according to the solicitude and the circumstances noted, in the special conversation. When this is done, all the members come around the altar in crescent form, and if there are some among the number who have given a public offence, they must come forward one after the other. The preacher once more charges them publicly with the sin, exhorts them to true penitence; and inquires after repentance, sorrow, faith and amendment

of life. When the confession is made, the preacher asks all the members present, whether they are willing to forgive the offence, and help to pray to God for him, through Christ? In every instance, the members almost generally testified with tears, that they would willingly forgive, and close it with their prayers. Thereupon the preacher addresses a short admonition to all the members, and says, that no one should esteem himself better than this sinner, for each one had to look upon his own heart, and to notice, that there lies the seed of every sin, and that the grace in Christ alone improves man, and frees from sin. When everything is arranged, all kneel before God, and the preacher kneeling in their midst, prays the confession. After the confession, several questions are asked by the preacher, and thereupon he announces absolution for the penitent, and says, that for the impenitent their sins are retained, until they repent. After this is done, it is again asked, whether any one still has aught in his heart against another? Those who perhaps still have somewhat against another, go into the parsonage, are reconciled with each other, and forgive each other their faults.

On Sunday there is a sermon preached on the holy Supper. After the sermon, the consecration and the distribution takes place. As there is only one preacher, and the administration lasts very long, we sing only one hymn in the beginning, and afterward the schoolmaster reads the history of the sufferings and the death of our Saviour, in the four Gospels, that we may make known the Lord's death, and consider how much it cost him to redeem us. Sometimes we also read the prayers of the Supper, from the deceased Arndt's Garden of Paradise, which are very edifying. The day is very burdensome for one preacher. In New Hanover I have several times had perhaps over three hundred German communicants, and afterwards a small number of English Lutherans; then the confirmants, who were first particularly examined and confirmed, and further several baptisms and marriages; so that I begin in the morning at 8, and close in the evening at 4 o'clock. When we are through with this, there is sometimes a sick person 3, 4, 5, or 6 English miles distant, whom we must yet visit.

In relation to our country congregations generally, we may say: "They are, according to

our Saviour's description, as a field containing wheat and tares, or like a net with fish, in which we find the good and the bad. If we pull up the weeds with a forward zeal, we injure the wheat. If we permit them to grow unhindered, they gain the ascendancy, and choke the good. The Lord grant us wisdom, not to do too much, nor yet too little. Old rooted sins of habit are often excited anew, even in such who have had a good beginning in repentance, when not sufficiently watchful. I have not recorded every particular awakening and emotion. But when I perhaps hear good words and expressions from one to another, I each time wish and pray that it may be truth, and an honest reality before God in Christ; and when I hear something bad, I consider the root whence it springs, and labor against it. Physicians of the body are called *ministri naturae*, servants of nature, and spiritual physicians should be *ministri gratiae*, servants and helpers of grace, and help forward with the word and means of grace. The Lord make us faithful!

When we preach, the members of the congregation do not easily neglect the opportunity.



They come from afar. They fear no heat in summer, and no rough roads and weather in winter. In hearing the word of God there is a difference. Some hear with tears, others reflectingly. Some are inattentive and fickle, others ignorant and neglected in their youth. We endeavor to present it as simply and comprehensibly as the Lord gives us grace. To-day, the word still falls in part among thorns by the way, and on stony land, and in part on good ground. Widows and orphans acknowledge in part, that the word of God and his grace in Christ is their only comfort. When we visit the dying, it generally appears what kind of treasure they have gathered. I have often wondered how such simple souls have profited by the word of God and by the sermons. I think that almost every one should know the most necessary and important truths for salvation. Blessed will they be if they do and practice them. As far as I have observed during my four years stay here, it is a matter of gradation. Those who do not obey the truth, become harder continually and more obdurate; and those who give place to the operations of the Spirit through his word, and the

means of grace, become ever more established and better.

All those members among us who highly esteem the grace of God in Christ, cannot refrain from tears when they consider how our dear fathers and so many upright souls and so many children of God in Europe exerted themselves, and from their poverty sent them preachers, and aided in building churches and schools. For this, they wish them many thousand-fold blessings and rewards. Such, also, have an inward love for their preachers, and manifest it by benefactions, which I esteem as great and precious, not for the quantity, but the intention.

When we look at our poor Lutherans, we wonder that they are still so united, and yet, though with difficulty, maintain the preacher from the mite of their livelihood. Most of the members of the congregation must wearily support themselves, and almost work harder than in Europe. Now, if the dear fathers and so many kind children of God in Europe, cared for the poor forsaken and despised members of these congregations in the wilderness, and aided them with their benefactions, we also

surely believe that, according to the promise of God, not a drink of cold water, much less so many loving acts of kindness, will go unrewarded. We therefore pray publicly and particularly for our benefactors, that God may be their rich reward. When there were sick in the congregation, they found sympathy with others, and I observed that they assist each other. In a word, the word of God and the means of grace manifest their power either as a savor of life unto life, or as a savor of death unto death.

After he who had hitherto been preacher in Readingstown, in the Province of Jersey, resigned his office, the four congregations there were without a preacher. We were so much concerned for them, that we sent them our dear brother Kurtz last winter, and permitted him to keep school and church. In the beginning of January of the year 1746, he again returned, when we saw from his journal, and heard orally from several members, that he had not labored there without profit and a blessing to both young and old.

In February my worthy colleague, Brunnholtz, and myself, were called to Lancaster, to

try whether we could in kindness mediate the violent quarreling in that congregation with their preacher, Mr. Nyberg, and his adherents, as it had become a hard suit in law before the authorities. We did not rashly enter into this sad and hard dispute, but the connection of our whole religion in this country, and especially of our congregations and of our calling, necessarily required that we should give our back to the burden. On this occasion we both visited the congregation in Tulpehocken, which Mr. Wagner resigned, and left for us to take care of.

When I returned to my congregations again, which Mr. Kurtz had served in the meanwhile, we found it necessary to send said Mr. Kurtz to Readingstown again, to the vacant congregations, for three months. We sent instructions along with him in English, in case the authorities should make inquiry therefor, as it is a royal government, and not quite as free as Pennsylvania. He served the four congregations there for about three months, and again labored not without a blessing to both the young and the old. The congregation there became so attached to Mr. Kurtz, that they

wrote the most touching letters, and entreated that we might endeavor to arrange matters so with our most worthy superiors, that Mr. Kurtz might become their preacher. We therefore earnestly desired to receive some intelligence from our fathers, whether we might hope that two preachers would soon arrive, as we had entreated in our former letters.

Towards the close of April I was again necessitated to visit Tulpehocken, and to travel from thence to Lancaster to the quarrelsome congregation. This was done with the consent of my colleague, Mr. Brunnholtz, and of our congregations. Circumstances rendered this necessary, although I foresaw that therefrom I should have to bear great reproach and disquiet. For as the nearly eighty protesting Lutherans were acquitted by the authorities, and the Moravian-minded, with their preacher, Mr. Nyberg, had entered the complaint in vain, the Lutherans, for the sake of the right, desired one of us to preach a sermon in the church, which had heretofore been locked. The Moravian-minded, however, were opposed to it, and intended to prevent me by force, whence a tumult might easily have arisen. One party

desired me to enter, and the other to prevent me. Still it passed quietly and without disturbance, and as the Moravian-minded could do nothing further, they published me in the German papers and covered me with abuse. But it was fully answered by the other side. After this, Mr. Nyberg and his party let the Lutherans have their church alone, and began to build a new one of their own. To this result of the matter, much was hereby contributed, that a response of the highly venerable consistory had arrived from Sweden, against Mr. Nyberg.

I was called to a large congregation (York), beyond the river called the Susquehanna, to the utmost part of Pennsylvania, which borders on Maryland. This congregation had been occasionally visited by Mr. Nyberg, as long as he was regarded as a genuine Lutheran preacher. The congregation consists of nearly one hundred and ten families. Mr. Nyberg promised to provide them with a preacher from Sweden, like himself. But after the quarrel at Lancaster began, they would have nothing more to do with him. I had a small number of children to baptize in this congregation, and also

to confirm several, whom the schoolmaster there had prepared. From this place, I again traveled back forty-six English miles to Tulpehocken, and preached there once more. From Tulpehocken I again went fifty miles back to Providence, to my congregations.

When Mr. Kurtz returned from Readings-town, and was in our congregations, I was invited in June to visit Tulpehocken again, where I prepared and confirmed a little company of young people. Two married persons were examined and confirmed in English. The parents of the confirmants in part related to me that they frequently found their children alone on their knees praying, during their preparation. I also baptized a youth of eleven years, who had not attained to baptism in infancy.

In July and August the Lord placed us in deep affliction, inasmuch as our dear and worthy colleague, Mr. Brunnholtz, was taken with the dysentery in the city. He was surely nigh unto death. This was not only for me the keenest pain, but it was wonderful to see how many souls in the congregation, whom we exhorted to earnest intercessions, moaned and uttered lamentations. The wardens of his

congregation conducted themselves as if their father was sick. They brought me down from the country at midnight. Several good friends tenderly took care of him, and called the best doctor for advice. When I came to him it was just the time appointed by God when his sickness broke, and some signs of recovery manifested themselves. The Lord granted his blessing also on the medicine, and heard the prayer of the distressed. When I observed that so much misery still prevailed in the congregations, yet when the Lord threatened to remove the shepherd, a universal lamentation arose. I thereby perceived the love of the congregation, and concluded that there is still a hidden good seed in them. Hereby that which the worthy pastor Maier said to Mr. Brunnholtz, often occurred to me, viz.: the Lord would not permit him to perceive more nor less of the blessing than he thinks needful, either for his abasement or for lifting him up. The Lord has given us the dear colleague anew. He would willingly have died, yet for the sake of the present necessity and circumstances, he himself entreated the Lord, that he might yet live for a few years. When we thanked God



for his recovery in the congregations, there was in pious souls a universal joy.

When we are regularly in the congregations in the country, there is so much to do that we can scarcely be at home a day, and attend to the correspondence with the utmost difficulty. Several families who belong to the congregation in Providence, live from five, six, to eight English miles from the church, and in addition to this, on the other side of a river called the Schuylkill, to pass over which is very laborious. Aged, sick or infirm persons, cannot easily ride through the stream or cross with a canoe, therefore they wish us occasionally to visit them, have divine service with them, and perform the sacramental acts. On the other side of the church there are two streams, Skippack and Perkiomen. Between and beyond these, members of the congregation also live three, five and eight English miles distant, who have a similar desire.

Several members belong to the New Hanover congregation, who live from five to seven miles between rocky mountains. These also require a visit and a sermon now and then, as they cannot always come to the prin-

cipal church. In this manner we have, besides two principal churches, three out-parishes which at times are sufficiently laborious. Moreover, there is a congregation twenty-five miles from Providence, in the mountains called Saccum, only seven miles from Bethlehem, where the Moravian brethren have their chief seat. This congregation in Saccum did not cease entreating us, that we should have divine service with them every four weeks, on a week-day, and perform the ministerial acts. We have now served them for one year, although it is a laborious road to that place. We pity the people, as they are mostly poor, live so secluded there, and are like as if forsaken. On the side of Saccum there is a middle-sized congregation at Upper Milford, which is also served on the occasion, about the fourth week.

Now it might be said, so many congregations and out parishes should surely abundantly support their preacher. But it is nevertheless difficult—(1) There is not the least charitable foundation in any church. (2) The congregations are still new, and for the most part in debt, on account of the necessary church and school buildings. (3) Most of the

people are poor, are in debt for their land, or live scantily between rocks and cliffs, so that they raise their daily bread with great difficulty.

(4) For seven years past the times have become distressing and destitute of nourishment, beyond description; for as long as the war with Spain and France continued, exports were stopped, and the people were unable to obtain suitable pay for their produce, and on the contrary they had to pay high for all necessary wares. Therefore, money is very scarce among the country people, and yet we preachers have to spend considerable on our horses and clothes, which are spoiled very much by traveling. The dear people willingly give produce and provisions, but money is too scarce, etc.

HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

*Providence, Oct. 30, 1745.*

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